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New Republic

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Washington Wire

Luce, Howard & Chiang

EVENTS are building up to the great Marshall Plan climax. While this struggle goes on, most people have forgotten about China. But General Albert Wedemeyer, who went out to see China for himself, has finished his momentous report. Simultaneously a campaign has been started by Roy Howard and Henry Luce to give Chiang Kai-shek another shot in the arm through American loans. An ardent advocate of the plan is ex-Ambassador William C. Bullitt, who announces that Chiang is in a bad fix, which is correct.

However, if the State Department has the final say, Chiang won't get the loan. One reason is that America's Secretary of State is also an ex-general. The disintegration of Chiang's armies is just about what Marshall told Chiang would happen when he was on his military mission there, before taking over at the State Department. Marshall pleaded in vain for reform and reorganization of the officer corps, and creation of an adequate army-training system. Chiang wouldn't do it.

The result is that the American-trained Chinese divisions have been used up in the Manchurian campaign and there aren't any efficient replacements. Today it is the judgment and prejudices of Marshall the military man, and not the Secretary of State, which make him think an "anti-Communist" defensive loan to Chiang would be wasted, Publishers Luce and Howard to the contrary.

CANDIDATE Harold Stassen is off to the fray again, following a press conference at which he had difficulty with the word "we." He kept referring to what "we" think, and reporters finally asked the natural question—was he speaking for himself and Taft? Oh no, he said; he referred to those in his own political camp.

Then he went on to say that he was more inclined to the liberal side, Taft to the conservative. Progress came, he said, from blending the two. Well—we wonder. Stassen is a fine-appearing chap; we like to watch his efficient handling of a press conference; and of course, beside Taft, anybody is a liberal. But by a more normal standard Stassen has seemed anything but a liberal on domestic matters. And in the foreign field, Stassen's proposal to make further aid to Britain contingent on halting nationalization seems the kind of impertinence that would provoke even English conservatives against outside interference.

That leaves the question of the word "we." We use it ourself. But we direct Stassen's attention to the jaundiced observation of one of our friends—that the only ones who really should use "we" are royalty and people with tapeworms.

WE went up to Boston last week to watch Secretary Marshall address the CIO convention. A Navy band gave him four ruffles and a flourish as he entered the hall. The delegates cheered a full minute. Then he sat for a 20-minute wait on the auditorium stage while the CIO musicians played "I Wonder Who's Kissing Her Now" and "McNamara's Band."

Sitting in state between Phil Murray and Jim Carey, Marshall quietly steamed under four huge reflectors. Harvard students in tweed sport coats gazed down reverently from beflagged galleries, and the nine horny-handed CIO vice-presidents sat primly, all in a row, like pigtailed school girls, conscious that now their wives would see them on the screen.

At last, when the radio time had arrived, Murray, in his soft, burring Scottish accent, introduced the Secretary as "one of the world's great

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"They wanna know how we feel about Eisenhower."

"He's a Republican and I'm a Democrat, so at least we don't disagree politically!"

champions of peace," and the crowd gave Marshall another ovation, this time of a minute and a half. Marshall stood under the rather tawdry purple curtains of the hotel stage and went through his five-minute prepared speech, hardly looking at the audience. He warned against foreign propaganda and nations which distort American motives.

Then, at the end, he used a skillful oratorical device. He pushed aside the microphones—there were eight—came out on the stage and began talking with engaging frankness to the surprised and flattered labor crowd. He told reporters below him to put aside their pencils, for he was now going to talk "in confidence." He repeated, in effect, just what he had said in his prepared talk. There was no question that he made a big hit.

The CIO is getting good and restive over the Communist minority. It was the first time a Secretary of State ever addressed a labor convention in America and symbolized the world-wide ideological struggle now under way to capture labor's support. Yes, American officialdom has finally discovered that trade unions are a factor of major diplomatic importance; maybe, in time, it will even want to do something about the Taft-Hartley Act.

IN connection with the Byrnes memoirs, we should like to supply one small omission to Byrnes's account of President Truman and the Wallace-speech incident. The fact which Byrnes omits is that the President himself approved the Wallace Madison Square Garden speech on foreign affairs, and said so at a press conference on September 12, 1946, in which we participated. Here is how it went:

Q. In the speech Mr. Wallace says: "When President Truman read these words, he said that they represented the policy of the Administration."

A. That's correct.

Q. Does this apply just to that paragraph or to the whole speech?

A. It applies to the whole speech.

When you come to think of it, this detail, which Jimmy omits in denouncing the speech, is rather significant.

Washington T. R. B.

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New Republic

VOLUME 117, NUMBER 17, ISSUE 1717, NEW YORK CITY, OCTOBER 27, 1947

News in Focus

The Real Harry

EVERYONE knows such facts about President Truman as that he wears bow ties, but what is really his underlying political philosophy? Last week he got around to expounding some of it at a press conference. The glimpse he gave of himself took reporters by surprise.

In response to a question, the President stated that he considered rationing, price and rent controls to be the methods of a police state.

Startled by the "police-state" phrase, a reporter asked, "Does that apply to the OPA during the war?" The President said yes.

"And to rent control?" asked another. Again the President said yes.

That left one wondering whether perhaps the President was afraid that any kind of control at all would mean a "police state." Traffic control, for instance. Or flood control.

Because of the views which he let slip out, Truman was at once described by supporters as a Jeffersonian Democrat and a believer in the elder President's supposed ideal of "anarchy plus a policeman." But for the moment it looked as if this new Jeffersonian didn't even want a policeman.

Dollars Aplenty

THE Shanghai *Evening Post* has printed a table graphically illustrating what has happened to Chinese currency in the past 10 years. In 1937 a Chinese $100 bill bought two cows. From then on, the sum was worth the following assorted items:

In 1938—one cow and one calf; 1939—one cow; 1940—one calf; 1941—one hog; 1942—one ham; 1943—one chicken; 1944—one bag of rice; 1945—one fish; 1946—one egg; and 1947—one third of a packet of matches.

Now Showing

THE appearance of the movie producers before the Un-American Activities Committee was prepared with the care Hollywood always gives klieg-light openings. Two weeks before their bosses rolled into town, the lawyers, press agents and vice-presidents-in-charge-of-bosses were scurrying around Washington, drumming up a public-relations campaign.

Paul V. McNutt had not been able to persuade the Motion Picture Producers' Association, which had engaged him as counsel, to follow his leadership as it had followed Wendell Willkie back in 1941. At that time, the Wheeler-Nye Investigating Committee was accusing the movie makers of producing prematurely anti-fascist films, prior to Pearl Harbor.

Willkie attacked the investigators for interfering with the movie makers' constitutional rights of free speech and vowed that the entire industry would "resist such pressure with all the strength at its command." Wheeler and Nye gave up. Now, six years later, the producers were more afraid of the new J. Parnell Thomas "Communist" charge, and some of them would relish seeing "New Dealer" writers, directors and actors get the Red-smear treatment.

Like Ike?

SINCE he still is, after all, Army Chief-of-Staff in Harry Truman's administration, General Eisenhower has found it wise to administer a slap on the wrist to the Draft-Eisenhower-for-President clubs which are appearing around the country.

The three young men who run their own national Eisenhower headquarters in Washington took the General's rebuke with a grin. "We intend to go ahead, in every state," said chairman Henry D. Spaulding.

A nervous, energetic fellow of 39, Spaulding worked for Willkie in 1940 and thinks there are favorable parallels between the two campaigns. "We have chartered over 60 clubs in 16 states and more are applying every day," Spaulding reports. "We don't intend to stampede the convention next year. Not at all. This is a spontaneous movement coming up from the people."

Helping Spaulding help the people are two other political amateurs, Maurice Mumford and Robert Haar. Oldest of the trio is Mumford, 42, an ex-newspaperman. ("He's practically a millionaire," says Spaulding with awe.) In addition to politics, Mumford heads an export firm called the US Supply Company and is building a low-cost-housing development called Mumford Park at Herndon, Virginia. Haar, the youngest zealot, saw Army service in Alaska and consequently is considered the veterans' contact man.

So far all expenses—rent, postage,

Speech Impediment

A decision rendered by the New York State Court of Appeals last week may seriously cripple political orators in next year's elections and possibly cause a complete conversational blackout in Republican National Committee Headquarters.

The court has ruled unanimously, in the case of Mencher v. Chesley, that a false charge that a person is a Communist or a Communist sympathizer is basis for libel action.

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handsomely engraved charters, office salaries and campaign buttons—have been paid personally by Spaulding and Mumford, they say. Such costs run to something like $8,000, Spaulding estimates, adding a hope that outside contributions will soon begin coming in.

Reports are current that Big Money is, indeed, on the way. Perhaps not to Spaulding, but at least to back Eisenhower, who has the back-stairs support of some powerful sections of business. A week ago in New York a group of ardent supporters met under the command of Winston H. Thornberg, an advertising-agency executive, to push the New York campaign into high gear. In Washington delegates from seven Southern states met recently for a similar purpose.

Right now the committees are getting ready to distribute buttons inscribed, "I Like Ike." The slogan, conceived by Spaulding, is ideal. Doesn't say Ike-for-President or anything else that could embarrass an Army Chief-of-Staff; just indicates a sentiment that even a Truman or a Dewey fan could subscribe to.

Disfranchised Vets

ORANGETOWN, N. Y. (*NR* correspondent).—The local Republican machine has completed a flagrant bit of election-rigging by denying the right of 1,100 ex-GI's and their families to vote, despite the fact that the veterans contribute in taxes nearly half of the town's budget.

The vets, their wives, babies, in-laws, cats and dogs reside in a federal housing project called Shanks Village, which was set aside a year and a half ago by the government as a housing project for veterans attending New York universities under the GI Bill of Rights. Each year the veteran residents contribute $80,000 in taxes toward Orangetown's $170,000 budget. In return for this, the town supplies Shanks Village with two part-time policemen.

Orangetown's Republicans decided to deprive the villagers of their franchise when it appeared that the veterans, dissatisfied with the inadequate police protection and public-school facilities provided by the town, put up one of their own men for a seat in the city council. So, arguing that the vets were "dormitory students," and therefore not really citizens of the town, the Republicans began their drive to silence the carpetbaggers.

First, the GOP obtained an "informal" letter from State Attorney General Nathaniel Goldstein which backed up its position. A paragraph summarizing Goldstein's opinion was printed on leaflets in such a way as to give the impression that it was a section from the state constitution. In addition, the Rockland County GOP issued a sheet of instructions which declared that "no list of voters which is handed in by Democratic or other political committees should be accepted for registration by the inspectors." The master lists to be used for checking voters were the "Republican canvass lists."

On the two registration days this month, the indignant villagers arrived in droves—by bicycle, car and foot. A converted hearse brought in a dozen at a time. Husbands and wives usually came together, carrying squalling babies. As each villager reached the head of his line, a Republican refused him the right to register.

Last week the veterans fought back. They went to court with the charge that Republican members of the Board of Elections and GOP officials had "entered into an illegal scheme and conspiracy to prevent the registration of petitioners, thereby disfranchising them." While State Supreme Court Justice Frederick Schmidt pored over the contending briefs, another distinguished legal figure, Republican Governor Thomas E. Dewey, exuded his customary silence despite the veterans' request that he give his opinion on the matter.

Speaking Frankly

Drawing by Mackey

JAMES F. BYRNES

PUBLICATION of James F. Byrnes's controversial book, *Speaking Frankly* (see review on page 28), sent reporters after various public figures about whom Byrnes spoke.

Many were questioned but few spoke frankly.

Among those queried was Henry Wallace, intercepted as he was boarding a plane for Palestine to write dispatches for the *New Republic*. The newspapermen asked him to speak about the section of the book which recommends war with the USSR if conciliation fails.

Wallace replied, "It is this point which is the heart of the thinking of the bipartisan-foreign-policy bloc, and it is the point with which I am in complete disagreement today."

Up Go Profits

BIG business is making more and more money. The Department of Commerce announces that corporation profits were higher in the first two quarters of 1947 than in the fourth quarter of 1946. Before taxes, profits went from $27 billion in the last quarter of 1946 to $29 billion in the first quarter of 1947 and $27.5 billion in the second quarter. After taxes the

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figures were $16 billion, $17.5 billion and $16.5 billion. If inventory profits were excluded, the department said, corporative profits both before and after taxes would show a steady increase from the last quarter of 1946 through June of this year.

The second quarter of 1947 showed a gross national profit of $226 billion and a national income of $199.4 billion.

The Krug Report

AFTER a three months' study of US industrial and natural resources, Secretary of the Interior Julius Krug's committee has reported to the President that an extensive program of economic aid to Europe is not only feasible but may actually give US economy the stimulus necessary to avoid future economic pinches.

The committee has found that present resources are sufficient for both domestic and foreign consumption, except in a few key categories like wheat, steel, coal, nitrogen, and railway and power equipment. It points out, however, that shortages of these particular materials are bound to develop within the next five years even if the US fails to provide any kind of assistance to Europe.

The Krug report has provided the Administration with the basic answer to the congressmen who argue that loans to Europe will drain off our strength. By expanding US economy now for Europe's immediate benefit, the report implies, we will avoid the unhealthy consequences of overstrained productive facilities.

What the Administration is going to do about expanding steel output was a subject that the Krug report did not see fit to discuss.

Mein Kampf's Sieg

THE Paris daily, *France Soir*, reports an active black market in outlawed Nazi books throughout Bavaria. Highest bidding is reached for copies of Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, which brings as much as 2,000 marks from German buyers, and 20 packages of cigarettes from American GI's.

"If You Have Tears . . ."

SOON newspapers, magazines and newsreels will be full of pictures of starving Germans and Japanese. The purpose of presenting them to you will be to pluck at your heartstrings. A high-powered campaign to whip up sympathy for the poor enemy is under way. Washington has sent orders to US occupation bigwigs in Germany and Japan to rush photographs dramatizing the need for food.

General Lucius D. Clay, now in Washington, has cabled Berlin for photos showing "famine conditions." He has gone on record publicly as warning that peace and democracy can't come to Germany if Germans are hungry and die of starvation.

By all means, look carefully at the pictures of these poor Germans and Japanese. Also look carefully at other photographs you will soon find in your newspapers—pictures of the coffins of US war dead arriving in this country for reburial, of the coffins of men no longer hungry who died to bring peace and democracy to the Germans and Japanese.

And also try to remember the photographs you once saw of other hungry Germans—of the hundreds of thousands who died of starvation at Buchenwald and dozens of other camps for Germans who dared to want a Germany of peace and democracy.

And if you have tears . . .

Science's Dilemma

UNITED STATES science, the Aladdin's Lamp of the American Way of Life, is actually dying on its feet due to an almost exclusive preoccupation with practical applications, mostly lethal. In 1946, President Truman set up a Scientific Research Board to study research activities, federal and private, and make recommendations to halt the atrophy.

Despite a list of big government names, the real work is done by a small, efficient staff attached to John Steelman's office which has brought together an immense amount of scattered and inaccessible information. Its report on science administration documents this gloomy picture:

This year the nation is spending $1,160 million on research and development, more than four times what was spent before the war. The biggest spender by far is the government ($625 million), but most of the money (85 percent) is going for research on weapons.

With the Service Departments gobbling up every scientist and technician in sight, desperate shortages of scientific manpower plague the universities (15,000 instructors are required merely to restore the prewar teacher-student ratio). Personnel deficiencies up to 40 percent are to be found in industry and in government agencies, and there is a grave neglect of basic as against applied research.

In the field of patents, an unconscionable indifference to the public interest on the part of the services, following policies initiated during the war by Vannevar Bush's Office of Scientific Research Development, has cost the government incalculable millions. There is almost no coördination of the many federal research programs.

The board's report tends to nibble at these problems instead of chewing them, but makes a number of excellent recommendations. Among the most important are:

1. Establishment of a National Science Foundation to give federal support to basic research in all fields, not merely in the physical sciences as provided in the National Science Foundation Act of 1947 which President Truman rightly vetoed last August.

2. Creation of an interdepartmental committee to effect some degree of coördination among federal research programs.

3. Designation by the President of a member of the White House staff for "scientific liaison" with federal and private groups.

4. A federal aid program for the training of scientists, including grants and scholarships, to fill the gap when the veterans' program expires.

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AFL, CIO and the 1948 Elections

MOST newspapers and radio networks emphasized the brutal defeats inflicted on John L. Lewis at the American Federation of Labor convention in San Francisco. When the AFL carries through its new political-action program, sober second thoughts may occur to the editorialists who expressed their delight in the humiliation of Lewis.

For the AFL has set up, in Labor's Educational and Political League, an AFL-PAC. It has created an instrument through which conservative, traditionally passive unions will turn tremendous pressure into a drive to mobilize millions of voters against congressmen who voted for the Taft-Hartley Act.

Nobody yet knows how effective the LEPL will prove nationally, but it will certainly make life harder for industrial-city Republicans bearing the T-H taint. The existence of the LEPL probably will increase the effectiveness of the CIO's PAC. The more conservative CIO unions have actually done little in the political field. With the "respectable" AFL finally launched in big-time politics, CIO right-wingers may find new energy.

IN some ways, the elderly AFL leaders clung fast to their traditions at San Francisco. They piously asked action to bring prices down, whereas the CIO specifically demanded a return of rationing and price controls. The AFL reëlected William Green as president, thus confirming a habit of avoiding stronger, more turbulent men in leadership, and the rise of George Meany as Green's apparently sure-shot successor next year indicates a tendency to persist in this path. Green himself, in discussing union with the CIO, repeated his maddening cliché of "inviting" the CIO to "return to the house of labor."

The convention actually made an AFL-CIO merger in the near future more improbable than ever. For John L. Lewis himself was unquestionably the leading champion of the AFL merger plan.

Drawing by Dolbin

JOHN L. LEWIS

But though the federation's conclave ended with Lewis sulking in his tent, boycotting the election of officers, it also apparently ended with no actual split. The burly UMW president may again walk out, but unless his colleagues continue to gang up on him, he is equally capable of resorting to other devices to combat his enemies.

For the sake of accuracy, the editorialists should at least tell their readers that Lewis was correct in constantly arguing that the Taft-Hartley Act does not "require" non-Communist affidavits. The issue was not whether or not to "comply," as honest citizens, with "the law." The law requires affidavits only of unions which wish to use Labor Board machinery. Lewis' whole point was that the board, under the T-H dispensation, was worse than useless.

The editorialists might also recall that the last time Lewis broke sharply with his AFL colleagues on principle —when nine leaders formed the Committee for Industrial Organization in 1935—Lewis was right and Green, Daniel Tobin, *et al.*, were wrong. The steel, automobile and rubber unions are a testimonial to Lewis' correctness.

Those who hope for the worst, however, must still recognize that the slow-moving, often bumbling AFL voted $3 million to fight repressive laws and will defend its right to do so under the Constitution. The sleeping giant is stirring with new life. Does the House Labor Committee recall William Green's last-winter warning—that labor would not placidly accept punitive laws? Do its members remember his further prediction—that pushed too far, American labor would turn to British labor's path of socialism?

WILLARD SHELTON

Murray and Marshall

BOSTON (by *NR* correspondent James Higgins).—CIO president Phil Murray scooped history and the AFL by presenting to 604 convention delegates the first Secretary of State ever to address a labor organization in America. The appearance of George C. Marshall, speaking on foreign policy, preceded the introduction of a resolution whose five cardinal points were all but identified with the Marshall Plan by right-wing speakers, and just as firmly disavowed as such by speakers from the CIO's left wing.

The resolution called for: (1) universal disarmament; (2) destruction of fascism . . . and cartels; (3) rights of colonial and economically backward countries to self-government; (4) unity among the US, Great Britain and the Soviet Union; (5) continuance of the Good Neighbor policy.

Right-wingers George Baldanzi, Jack Altman and Walter Reuther slid around point four when they attacked the USSR in follow-up speeches. Reuther took the AFL line on the Soviet trade unions by declaring that there are "no free trade unions . . . on the other side of the Iron Curtain." This conflicted with another resolution, adopted unanimously by the convention, which stated that: "The CIO pledges its continuing support to the WFTU [World Federation of Trade Unions]." This would include, plainly, trade unions of Soviet Russia.

Left-wing speaker Joe Kehoe, stressing a section of the foreign-policy resolution which said that citizens of the United States have the right to criticize their government's policy, was

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interrupted by Murray from the chair. Murray, who for the first time didn't bother to hide his sympathies with the right wing, asked whether Kehoe would favor such right of criticism for the Russian heroes of Stalingrad. Kehoe said he favored it for everyone, everywhere.

Marshall's address also served to emphasize some of the conflicts and ambiguities which have plagued the CIO in its attitude toward those in charge of foreign policy. Speaking two days before Marshall, Senator Claude Pepper (D, Fla.) released to the press statements which the delegates did not hear from his lips. "A terrifying alliance between monopoly and military unprecedented in American life is emerging before our very eyes." He said later in his printed text: "Only a progressive America, its political leadership purged of militarists and Wall Streeters dreaming of world conquest, can institute a progressive foreign policy as well as a progressive domestic policy." There was no reference to Wall Streeters or militarists in the CIO resolution, and, in introducing Marshall, Murray spoke of him as a man of peace.

ALTHOUGH Harry Truman was mentioned only once (by Mike Quill, president of the Transport Workers' Union, who reminded delegates that Truman had broken the railroad strike and let price control slide), the presence of Marshall and a picture of Truman hung beside that of Murray were significant. If the CIO does support Truman, it may be embarrassed by convention echoes. Almost at the moment when the convention was calling for price control, Truman, at a press conference, was identifying such measures with those of a "police state." Asked to comment on Truman's definition of price control, Murray said that the extortion being practised by profiteers and monopolies seemed much closer to a police state to him.

At the conclusion of a session on political action—a convention theme that ran second to the foreign-policy issue—delegates heard Murray say that "the people of the United States of America will respond to the call of the CIO . . . and drive from the halls of Congress those people responsible for the enactment of this ugly legislation [the Taft-Hartley Act]." He called the CIO 1948 political-action drive "the biggest undertaking of its kind that we have ever contrived in our history."

MURRAY'S pre-convention conferences with the executive board toned down issues which might have exploded on the floor. As a result, the CIO rank and file will find in the proceedings no discussion whatsoever on such items as: cost of living, rent control, tax policy, veterans' problems, labor unity, the WFTU and civil rights in the United States. Resolutions, yes, but no discussion from the floor. There was no resolution at all on wages, though many were submitted to the resolutions committee.

The rank and file will also find in the proceedings that a majority of the delegates from local industrial unions were hand-picked functionaries from CIO or international-union staffs, selected without regard for geography or affiliation.

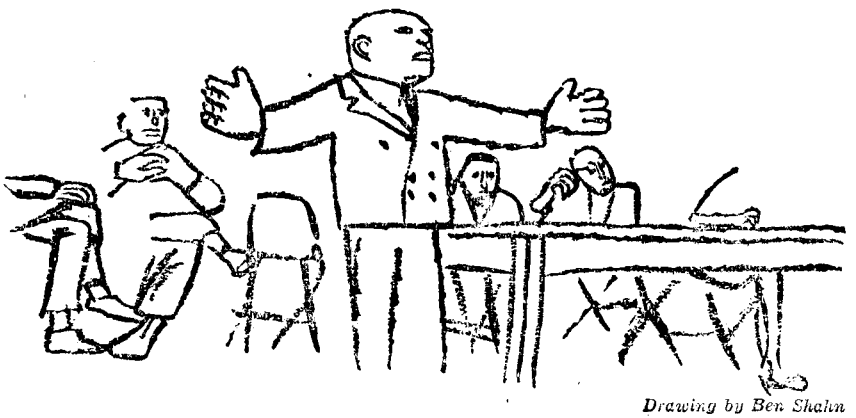
Murray's only condescension to the left wing came in the presentation of a resolution on John Santo, an official of the Transport Workers' Union, a resident of the United States for 20 years and a war veteran of three and a half years service, now threatened with deportation proceedings on the grounds of being "undesirable."

Throughout the entire convention the careful planning of Murray was evident, from the selection of speakers (Archbishop Cushing of Boston, Marshall, Secretary of Labor Schwellenbach, Senator Claude Pepper, F. D. Roosevelt Jr.) to the theatrical move of R. J. Thomas, vice-president of the United Automobile Workers, on the last day when he declined nomination as vice-president in favor of Orie A. Knight of the Oil Workers.

There cannot be the slightest doubt that the internal differences in the CIO are becoming sharper. The left wing—whose most fervent orators didn't take the floor—was shocked not so much by the appearance of Marshall as by disclosure of his coming visit *after* the resolutions committee had agreed on a foreign-policy resolution. The left wing was further shocked by the latitude permitted Reuther, Altman and Baldanzi, by Murray's interruptions from the chair, by Schwellenbach's Red-baiting press conference immediately after he left the convention platform.

PHIL MURRAY steered the CIO through this convention, and in 20 minutes of noisy demonstration the delegates made it clear—while Murray, red-faced, wept in his chair—that they wanted him to steer the organization through another year.

There were many voices heard at the convention: church, state, chamber of commerce, Congress, the Massachusetts House of Representatives; there were the voices of the Red-baiters and the professional labor gents; but the voice that used to be loudest and strongest in the CIO, the voice of the mass rank and file—well, I didn't hear that, or even an echo of it. And if Phil Murray doesn't let that loose in the next 12 months, he's likely to be deafened when it does erupt.



Drawing by Ben Shahn

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Back to *Grapes of Wrath*?

DENVER (by *NR* correspondent Roscoe Fleming). – The Republican Congress has ordered the Department of Agriculture to divest itself by January 31 of the 48 camps for migrant farm labor it has maintained for several years.

The camp in the rich northern Colorado sugar-beet and general farming area at Fort Lupton, Colorado, has already been turned over by the department to the Lupton Farm Improvement Association, an organization of 196 employing farmers.

The association's first act was to raise rents. Three and two-bedroom frame houses of permanent construction had been renting to Spanish American families for $3.85 a week. Hereafter they will be $8. One-bedroom duplexes had been renting for $3.15 a side. Now they are $7. And so on down the line, to one-room shelters, without heat, which have been boosted from $1.40 to $2 weekly.

This puts house rents pretty well beyond the reach of migrant laborers. Last month the people began leaving, not only because of the raise in rents but because they did not like passing from Uncle Sam's hands into the hands of their employers. Population of the camp declined in a few weeks from 1,275 to about 500. Most of the remainder will move later.

Fred Ford, Colorado Extension Emergency Labor Service Director, has gone to Kentucky to try to bring back some unmarried male Kentuckians to take the place of the departing Spanish Americans. Some observers found a little humor in this. "Try treating those Kentucky boys like Mexicans, and they'll think they've recruited a bunch of wildcats," one said. Ford said the Colorado labor deficit is serious, that the area could use up to 3,250 more workers this fall than it has in sight.

"Oh, hell," exploded Lee Fryer, executive assistant to president James G. Patton of the National Farmers' Union, "what's the use of talking about it? Everybody knows that Congress' action and this aftermath mean the region is just on the way back to *The Grapes of Wrath*."

Irgun Will Fight

PETER BERGSON, chairman of the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation and American spokesman for the Irgun Zvai Leumi, has announced that Irgun will continue to fight the partition of Palestine.

Bergson says his group has three enemies: the British, who "originated, inspired and directed" the partition plan to create "a midget Jewish state"; the Arabs, who are British "stooges" equipped with British guns; and the Jewish Agency, an "archaic and obsolete body" of foreigners.

Irgun's aims are a united Palestine, established as a Hebrew Republic "which alone would have the right and the authority to speak for the Hebrew people." Until these aims are achieved, Bergson promises that "the struggle for the liberation of Palestine will continue unabated."

A Socialist Looks at the Cold War

by Harold J. Laski

LONDON (by wireless). – The alarm and excitement caused by the "Little Comintern" seems to me all out of proportion to its importance. It has been obvious ever since 1943 that the original dissolution of the Comintern was nominal rather than substantial.

It has been clear ever since the end of the war that Communist Parties the world over were following the same pattern of policy and that the Russian Communist Party took the lead in shaping the pattern. The decision to announce that what was informal has become formal was a natural move in the war of nerves that is being waged between Communist and other parties.

Until fairly recently the Russians hoped to arrive at a *modus vivendi* with the United States on a basis that would enable them to ease the enormous burden the war has compelled them to load on the shoulders of their people.

In the hope of achieving that result, the Russians sought to strengthen their position by political alliances with Left groups in Western Europe. The effort failed.

WHEN James F. Byrnes made his unfortunate speech at Stuttgart in September, 1946, the Communists took the "line" that the United States was Russia's enemy number one, with Britain as a subordinate, but still important, second. As always when the Russians take a line, they whip themselves into a frenzy about it, and the chorus of Communist Parties outside Russia sings to the chosen tune.

Unfortunately, the Russian decision coincided with the Republican victory in the United States, the consequences of which were almost equivalent to a counter-revolution. Anti-communism became almost a religion in the United States.

What was begun as propaganda for home consumption on both sides began to take on the color of reality. That reality turned verbal duels into hostile policies, sharpened by long memories of past threats and mutual suspicions.

Everyone knows that Russia does not want war and cannot afford war. Those who have to make vital decisions in the United States are well aware of this. But they have created a mentality which makes it impossible to try to reach an understanding with Russia, at least until after the presidential election, lest the Republicans go into battle with the charge of "appeasing" communism.

The folly of the Truman Doctrine must be read into this background, and it is no use denying that American statesmen are presently willing to use their economic power to rebuild that "cordon sanitaire" around Russia and her allies similar in character to that which Winston Churchill sought to build a generation ago.

THE Communist Party therefore has renounced the hope of sharing in power by collaboration and has decided to concentrate once more on the old policy of insisting that so-called Democratic Parties are lackeys of

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United Nations News

The Veto By-Pass

THE US proposal for an Interim Committee or a "Little Assembly" to function when the General Assembly is not in session, is an outgrowth of successive Soviet vetoes in the Security Council, especially on the Balkan dispute.

No real question of law is involved. The Charter gives the Assembly the right to act in the political field and to adjust situations that might threaten the peace. The Assembly may establish whatever subsidiary organs it needs to carry out these functions, always bearing in mind the Security Council's "primary" responsibility for peace and security.

The "Little Assembly" would not actually by-pass the Security Council; it would merely attempt to by-pass the veto. Soviet vetoes have already been by-passed—notably when the Balkan question was dropped from the Security Council agenda as a procedural matter not subject to the veto, and placed before the General Assembly. But the Assembly sits for only a few months a year and it would be useful if the Western bloc could have a year-round veto-dodging device. The "Little Assembly" would amount to exactly that.

Any action by the United Nations as a whole gives the Western bloc a numerical advantage. The "Little Assembly," as proposed, will be composed of one representative from each of the 57 member nations; its activities will be determined by a two-thirds vote; and there is no veto in the General Assembly or any of its committees. The Western bloc commands enough votes (witness resolutions passed by the General Assembly last year on Spain, and the veto this year on the Balkans) to nullify the power which the Soviet Union has used in the Security Council and to frustrate Russian attempts to make the Council, rather than the Assembly, the UN's most important organ.

The delegates reluctant to support such blunt tactics have also practical objections to the idea of a "Little Assembly." One is the worldwide dollar shortage, for the new plan will certainly entail additional expenditures. The US could relieve the burden in part by continuing its large contribution to the UN budget, but there would still remain the question of Secretariat function.

Heretofore the Secretariat has handled the kind of pre-Assembly work which will now be turned over to a "Little Assembly." It has prepared studies, reports, draft resolutions and factual material needed by delegates. The Secretariat is composed of experts who are jealous of the right to perform such substantive work, and there is real danger that the best men will leave the United Nations organization if it is discontinued.

DESPITE the arguments against it, the "Little Assembly" will go through in some modified form. The British hope to tighten and restrict its functions and have already suggested a more moderate plan. The Chinese have presented suggestions which, if accepted, would hit at the heart of the US aim to by-pass the veto. Dr. Wellington Koo wants the work limited to preparatory studies or investigations which would otherwise be deferred until a regular Assembly session, and to following up recommendations that have been made by the Assembly.

The Russians have already announced that they won't compromise on the "Little Assembly" no matter how watered down it is. Their boycott will mean that the UN is functioning without Soviet participation in the Trusteeship Council, the Specialized Agencies, the Balkan Committee and the "Little Assembly."

Both US and USSR tactics are weakening the UN. The split is growing wider.

JANE BEDELL

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capitalism. They count on depression in the United States as likely both to come soon and to make American aid for Europe practically impossible. They imply that this will push most of Europe toward catastrophe and that this will make capitalist democracy a contradiction in terms.

At that point, in their view, there will be no middle way; workers will have to choose between reactionary capitalism, with the loss of all gains in social well-being made in many years, and communism. They believe that workers will choose communism if they are able to discredit social democracy in the meantime.

I REGRET the change and think a good deal of it is due to the fantastic Communist incapacity to understand the psychological problems before them. But I think it is true to say that a good deal of responsibility rests on the United States Government.

Every sin with which the US charges Russia can fairly be charged against itself. War talk, expansionism, bases, satellites, economic predominance, communism as a threat to world peace, encouragement of the most reactionary groups in Europe and even in China, reduction of Japan to a position of US vassal, witch-hunting crusades in the United States itself—all of this is grimly reminiscent of the period when the nascent Russian state was not only treated as a pariah but had good reason to fear intervention.

IT is folly to think that the Comintern rebirth must be read as a Russian declaration of war. It is a declaration of the Russian conviction that economic collapse is near, both in the United States and in Europe, and that Communist Parties must be ready to take maximum advantage of the chaos that will result. This view is at least supported by the fact that if American aid to Europe is made the sport of presidential campaigning, it will be too little in amount and too late in time.

If that happens, the Russian diagnosis may be more correct than that of those who think that a hungry and chaotic Europe can somehow stagger through to a condition where it is able to maintain freedom and democratic institutions.

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The House That Hate Built

The Attic

CHICAGO (*NR* correspondent).—Whenever a big city's crime rate goes above average, the usual procedure is to slap a few extra detectives and patrolmen on the offending districts, shuffle some inspectors around and announce the force is going to get tough. But something new in crime-prevention drives is under way here.

More than 2,000 citizens have joined a campaign to force the city to better the slum conditions which have bred incessant crime in Chicago's Negro tenements. Instead of making a strictly theoretical appeal, the citizens have picked up a red-hot issue to illustrate their point: the case of James Hickman, a Negro steelworker who will be tried, on October 27, for murder.

Acting as the Hickman Defense Committee, the citizens are asking for Hickman's release on the grounds that his crime was the direct result of atrocious housing conditions in Chicago's congested Negro slums. The committee's most telling argument lies in the facts of the Hickman case itself.

In January, 1946, Hickman brought his wife and seven children to live in Chicago. After being promised a four-room flat by David Coleman, Hickman paid $100, then was jammed with his family into a single attic room which had neither heat, light, gas, a toilet nor washing facilities. For this Hickman was charged $6 a week.

Then the landlord decided to remodel the building. He told Hickman to leave. When Hickman refused, Coleman threatened to burn him out. And on January 16, 1947, the Hickmans' room was swept by fire and four of the children were burned to death. Testimony at the coroner's inquest indicated the fire might have been set deliberately, and that the building was a condemned firetrap. Hickman had pleaded for months over the leaky roof. On July 16, he shot and killed Coleman.

The Hickman Defense Committee, backed by AFL and CIO unions, the American Veterans' Committee and the city's Baptist Church. As the movement grew, it broadened into a campaign for legislative and municipal action to deal with Chicago's rotten tenements.

Because of the committee, the murder trial of a penniless Negro millhand will be much more than just another court case to the people of Chicago. For many of them now realize that the city itself will be in the defendant's box with James Hickman.

The Hallway

BALTIMORE (*NR* correspondent).—The 700 block of West Fayette Street is populated by old Baltimore families, some of whom share their homes with unrepatriated warworkers from the South. No Negroes have ever lived there. But at dusk one Friday this month, three Negro households moved into an apartment building in the district. By nine p.m. all the first-floor windows had been broken by metal discs thrown from the street. The Negro families huddled together in the darkness for protection. The fragments kept coming, like shrapnel in a mortar barrage.

At three a.m., the occupants saw two white men enter the building. A few minutes later they heard paper rustle in the vestibule. Then came the smell of smoke and the crackle of flames outside the room in which the Negroes had gathered. In the panic that followed a shot was fired and a white man in the corridor was killed by the bullet.

After the fire was put out, the police arrested a Negro, Carnell Simmons, charged him with murder and jailed him without bail. On Monday Simmons' pregnant wife and the Williams family on the first floor picked up their things and moved away—nobody seems to know where. Only Mr. and Mrs. Willie Graham and their three children remained.

"If only the neighbors had waited to see whether we were respectable," cried Mrs. Graham, "but they didn't."

That night West Fayette Street was quiet again.

The Room

WASHINGTON, D. C. (*NR* correspondent).—Room 121 is an ordinary-looking office in the Federal Trades Commission Building. The inevitable reproduction of the Declaration of Independence hangs on the wall. But Room 121 is different—it is the place where the FTC keeps its eight Negro accounting workers.

The Negroes got into Room 121 only on sufferance. When they first came to the FTC, under the plan by which that agency absorbed all former OPA employees, the Negroes had been handed dismissal notices. But their union (the CIO United Public Workers of America) forced the Civil Service Commission to cancel the discharges, over the stiff protests of the FTC.

So the FTC created Room 121 especially for Negroes. Doors of other offices carried the names of the workers inside; the door to Room 121 was blank. The Negroes waited patiently for work; then asked for it, but nothing happened. Finally, in bewilderment and desperation, they began sorting papers and copying reports. Herbert Cramer, with a "very good rating" as a Social Security and OPA accountant, spent weeks trying to find out what he was supposed to do, without the slightest success.

Last month the occupants of Room 121 received dismissals for the second time—"lack of funds" and "unsatisfactory work" were the reasons. Cramer's supervisor explained: "Negroes take too much sick leave. . . . Your work is only fair compared to that of white employees." The union protested again, but by last week only four of the Negroes had been rehired, three of them at substantial salary reductions.

To the union officers and lawyers who have been fighting racial discrimination in countless other government agencies, it was an old story. They have only one answer: a Fair Employment Practices Commission for federal workers.

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Not Herter; Dulles

INSIDERS in Washington have discovered why the Republicans are looking to the Herter Committee report, due early in November, to set the party line on the Marshall Plan and on the scheme for emergency help for Europe. The reasons are that a group of Republican big-business and big-money representatives, headed by Allen Dulles, younger brother of John Foster Dulles, did the committee's thinking.

Representative Christian Herter (R, Mass.), chairman of the 19-man special committee which spent two and a half months studying European conditions, is an internationally minded Boston blueblood who got his start as a protégé of Herbert Hoover after the First World War. His consultants include Dr. Julius Klein, a Hoover henchman since the early 1920's; John Hancock, an associate of Bernard Baruch; and the younger Dulles, partner in the law firm of Sullivan and Cromwell (attorneys at one time for associates of I. G. Farben, Germany's strongest cartel) and a director of the J. Henry Schroder banking company (financial agent of the Hitler government).

Toward the end of the committee's stay in Europe, Dulles received an urgent call to join it in London for the return trip home on the *Queen Elizabeth*. It is generally accepted that he wrote the report for which the Republicans are waiting.

In simple terms, Dulles has reworked the Marshall idea into something like this:

¶ A European aid program of $4 billion a year for four years;

¶ Administration by a "nonpartisan board" independent of the State Department, a sort of "international RFC";

¶ Financed by a special issue of government bonds;

¶ And secured for international banking purposes by:

- $4 billion from postponement of tax reduction one year;
- $4 billion from appropriations;
- $4 billion from prepayments for future deliveries of strategic materials (uranium, copper, zinc, etc.) which foreign countries will be required to make to us;
- $3 billion from debentures held by foreign nationals here which would be taken over and held in escrow as security by their own governments.

This total of $15 billion is more than adequate to make such a special bond issue a "good risk" from an international banker's viewpoint.

This scheme combines the plans for administering a "Marshall Plan" put forward by Winthrop Aldrich, president of the Chase National Bank (Rockefeller dominated), and by Beardsley Ruml. Aldrich sponsored the RFC-board principle and Ruml introduced the bond-issue method. With such big-business thinkers as its parents, and such well connected men as Allen Dulles, Klein and Hancock serving as its sponsors, the revised Marshall Plan should get off to a strong start.

Planning an Ever Normal Diet

by Jan Hasbrouck

IN a Washington continually preoccupied with the crises of the moment and stop-gap measures to meet them, it has been pleasant to watch the Department of Agriculture develop a program with the inspiring aim: "to effectuate a long-range policy of abundance." It sounds almost like the good old days again, and is, in fact, a proposal to continue and extend the measures set up in depression by men of courage and vision.

This is not merely a pious hope for a better world. It is a matter of necessity if the Full Employment Act of 1946, designed to cushion depression in industry, is to have its essential counterpart for the 26 million Americans who live off the land. During the war the American farmer, with assured markets and money in his pocket for the first time in a generation, accomplished a revolution no less significant than the phenomenal rise in the productivity of American industry. In the First World War we increased farm production about 10 percent. Between the wars it rose another 10 percent. But during the last war it rose 36 percent. Acreage remained about the same and manpower dropped five million.

How was it done? The weather has been excellent for a decade, but that is only a small part of the story. Mechanization, which most farmers could never afford until the wartime boom, accounts for most of it. And mechanization snowballs—it has not only upped the productivity of the average farm worker 37 percent, but it has also released 55 million acres which used to be required to feed draft animals.

The research, education and conservation programs which were attacked as utopian or "Red" when started in depression times, have also paid off richly. The farmers knew how to farm scientifically, and as soon as they could afford it, their use of fertilizers, pest controls, new strains and better techniques jumped. Result: undreamed-of yields per acre and per animal.

An alternative to catastrophe

BUT another result was a problem. How can this new high-powered, high-speed American agricultural machine be kept going? It was built on wartime demand. It is currently living on large exports and high home consumption which it would be foolish to assume will go on forever of their own momentum. And yet, unless the total volume they absorb between them continues at least at the present level, there will be catastrophe on the American farm. We have little control over foreign demand, and it is bound to drop gradually as the world gets on its feet. There remains no alternative but to keep up and increase home demand. This is the imperative which the department's new program seeks to meet.

The detail involved is staggering, but here, in essence, is how the department proposes to go about it. More

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than 200 first-grade career men in the huge buildings at the foot of Fourteenth Street in Washington have been working for a year on the program. They first sought to find out what America would *like* to consume, rather than take an arbitrary nutritionist's estimate of what she *should* consume.

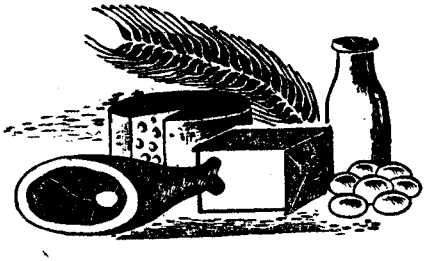
More meat wanted

FOR this realistic premise they chose a family with an income of $2,000 a year (nearly $40 a week) in 1941. This was thought to be the minimum which permitted an adequate diet with some freedom of choice, yet only the top 40 percent of the country's families have incomes that high or higher. Multiplying the amounts of various items which this typical family selected to make up its diet by the total number of families in the country, the economists arrived at a measure of what the country would like to consume and a goal for total farm production. Comparing this with actual consumption, the economists found that we would like to have 40 pounds more meat per capita per year, 200 pounds more milk and 130 pounds more fruit. We would also like to eat less of certain cheap but nourishing foods like beans and potatoes.

Today our per-capita food consumption is up about 16 percent over prewar despite the fact that the $2,000-a-year income has to be $3,000 now to permit the same diet as in 1941. As predicted, the consumption of the more expensive foods, meats and dairy products has risen most sharply. The average person eats a fifth more meat and a third more eggs (400 compared with 300) than before the war. But remember this is an average figure based on a national total—more people are eating more and more of the expensive foods, but rising prices are gradually reversing the trend. Exports will take up the slack for a while, but what then?

To give every American the $2,000-1941 diet would take 415 million acres against the 408 million now cultivated, partly because it takes two acres to feed a person on a low-cost diet (starch) and three to feed him on a high-cost diet (proteins). The US could support 190 million people on a low-cost diet, 140 to 150 million on a high-cost one. There is no problem, so long as prices stay up, in raising our production the small additional amount required to meet the ideal in total quantity and relative amounts. But to keep it there in bad times is the trick.

The agricultural economy is not so elastic as is the industrial economy. For instance, from 1929 to 1933 farm production fell six percent; industrial production fell about 80 percent. But in the same period farm prices went down 63 percent; industrial prices 15 to 20 percent. The answer is obvious—a floor must be placed under national food consumption. But to propose this



flatly and face up to the implications took a good deal of courage in the Department of Agriculture. It ties farm prosperity squarely to industrial prosperity, for if the city worker is laid off in bad times and his food consumption is allowed to fall, he drags the farmer with him into the deadly depression spiral.

Faced with this inescapable logic, the department planners took a deep breath and recommended legislation which would permit the establishment of a perpetual system of food tickets. They weren't too precise, but roughly it might work something like this: the department (or someone else) might decide that its $2,000-1941 diet would cost, in a given area in a given week, say, $20. It would be established that a certain proportion of a family's income should go for food. If a family's proportion were more than $20, it would simply buy the food. If the proportion were less, the family would get $20 worth of tickets for that amount of its income which should go for food. The tickets could be spent like money with local merchants and would be redeemed from local banks by the government.

Something like this was tried in the early 1930's, and considering that it was thought up quickly as an emergency measure, it worked well. It has the advantage of antagonizing no one, for the regular channels of collection, processing and distribution are used, enabling each man along the way to get his usual profit and so stay in business. Senator Aiken of Vermont has prepared a plan along this general line, and the Department of Agriculture recommended that his plan be tried on a small scale before it is really needed to meet a national emergency.

The floor under national food consumption is the heart of the new plan and its only revolutionary feature. The rest of the program for abundance is nothing more than a modernization and integration into a smooth-working whole of the conservation, research, marketing, price support, ever-normal-granary, export and other programs which were begun under the New Deal and are now accepted as a necessary part of government.

Despite his new prosperity, the income of the average American farmer is still only 60 percent of that of the average city dweller. In an attempt to iron out this discrepancy, the department wants to continue and modernize the so-called price-parity program. This is an effort to keep farm prices in line with what the farmer has to buy. It is based on a 1909-14 price scale.

Anti-depression insurance

BEEF cattle can be used to illustrate the way parity works now. The average price over the base period was $5.42 per hundred pounds. The price of the basic things farmers buy today —for use in his farming and in his home—is 237 percent of their average cost in 1909-14. So the government's parity price for beef cattle is $5.42 multiplied by 237 percent, or $12.80. The actual price is, of course, much higher, but the standing government offer to support prices at a given percentage of parity gives the farmer protection in hard times.

Not all of the 157 items under the parity program are figured exactly as the illustration given here, but it is the basic pattern. The new program

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proposes to allow for the changes in the farmer's way of living today by using 1937-41 as the base period and making an allowance for labor costs, which is not now done. Eventually it is hoped to get on a sliding base of the previous 10 years, but this must wait until the 10 years used do not include such abnormal periods as the present. The new program would raise parity prices an average of about five or six percent.

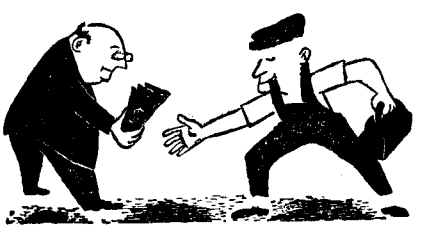
The proposals outlined so far have dealt entirely with keeping the consumption of farm products up. But suppose the supply fell off? Suppose the 10-year spell of fine weather should break and we should have another 1934 or 1936, with drought, dust bowls, Okies?

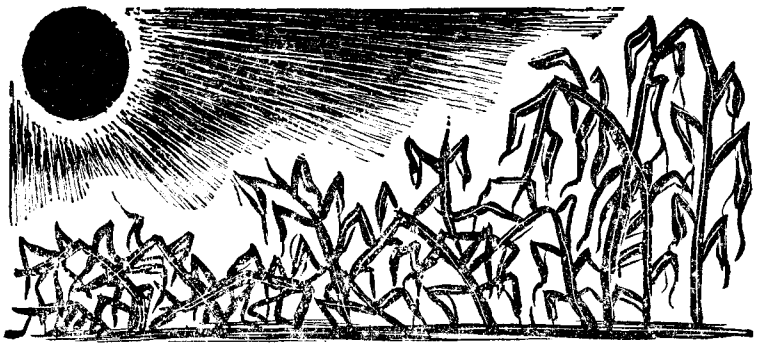
In 1936, the worst drought year, total national farm production fell less than 20 percent, although in various fairly large areas the destruction was total. Furthermore, it is not likely to be so bad next time. The disasters of 1936 dramatized the need for conservation measures and good farming practices, which have done much to prevent a repetition.

How about the excess farmer?

HIGH mechanization also enables the farmer to beat the weather to a certain extent by working quickly when conditions are right. Research has developed hardier strains, particularly of corn, and new fertilizers and pest controls which can greatly help the farmer in his struggle with nature. The looked-for transfer of diet emphasis from starches to meats and dairy products would return much land to pasture, thus preserving it from erosion and depletion. All in all, the economists of the Department of Agriculture are confident that with proper management we never need want again in this country for lack of agricultural production.

Under the parity and ever-normal-granary programs, the government would acquire stocks of foods in very good crop years when prices might fall due to a flooding of the market. The grain and some other products would be stored against lean years. But there is always a ready outlet for spot acquisitions through the federal program to help provide school lunches and in supplying various public institutions. These programs would be extended under the new plans, and research to line up industrial outlets for farm products would be accelerated.





Drawings by Ramon Gordon

The farmer's excess product is not the only thing which must be taken care of. There is also the excess farmer. Mechanization and the concentration of farms into bigger and bigger units each year renders a large number of farm workers unemployed. Many don't want to try their luck in the cities, and so remain on the farm in an under-employed status. To meet this situation, the new program calls for rural industrialization. This means that the government will work out and recommend to local capital means of setting up small industries in rural areas. Help will be provided in establishing canneries, local processing plants and the like to absorb the excess farm labor, which is predominantly young. Rural electrification is an integral part of this plan.

As an entity, the US Department of Agriculture's long-range policy of abundance is a farsighted, practical and masterful piece of work. It was presented in six weighty documents early this month to a Joint House and Senate Agricultural Committee. The weight of evidence was overwhelming. The experts have done their part as well as could be. It remains for the politicians to make it possible. Hearings will be held this fall throughout the country, and at the next session of Congress legislation will probably be introduced to carry out the program. Present legislation which gives authority for parts of the program already in operation will run out at the end of next year. The program to substitute something better will have the support of many of the ablest congressmen of both parties. But there will be opposition.

The bugaboo of planned scarcity

IN the first place, with high demand for farm products here and abroad, the program is not a pressing need. In the second place, while everyone is for abundance, there are some selfish, shortsighted farm groups which think that planned scarcity is safer. This means cutting the supply (by acreage allotments and marketing regulations) when prices begin to fall. It is the same kind of thinking which prevails in certain segments of industry. It relies on methods of the past rather than on faith in the demonstrated capacity of the American people to produce and to consume, in ever greater quantity, provided their leaders in and out of government see to it that small groups, through fear or greed, do not distort the process.

The hope of the Department of Agriculture is to get the program launched and the machinery installed and oiled while it can still warm up at light load. It will then be ready to click into high gear when and if a depression starts. The agricultural planners feel that their program might do much to prevent a repetition of 1929-37. But the present industry-dominated Congress may be too preoccupied with immediate bugaboos to bother to shut the farm door while the tractor is still there.

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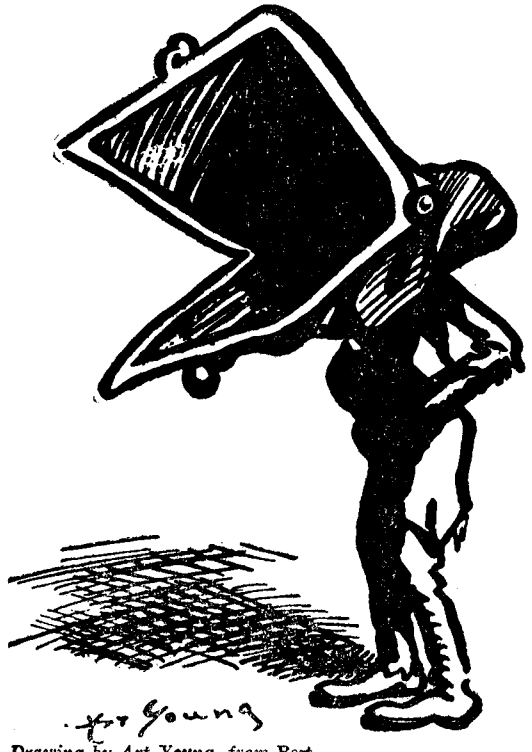
Henry Wallace

The Women's Revolt

THERE'S a women's revolution brewing. This fact was sharply driven home to me when I was in Connecticut the first week of October, the day after local elections had swept Democrats into power in many towns. Republican housewives had voted Democratic and had expressed their feelings freely in many a grocery store. When the storekeeper had asked the housewife if she were a Democrat, she would say: "No, but I don't like the way things have been mismanaged."

The wrath of the lady of the house is going to grow. War savings of low-income groups are practically gone and the weekly income of millions is not enough to meet the rent and the cost of food, let alone clothing.

The women of the United States are learning that there has been serious mismanagement by both parties. The Democratic Administration relaxed controls too soon. The Republicans coöperated with the reactionary Democrats and killed the OPA. Together, the reactionary Democrats and Republicans have coöperated on a program of planning for war, a program that inevitably aggravates the current worldwide food scarcity.



Drawing by Art Young, from Best of Art Young, *the Vanguard Press*

"HUNGRY POCKETBOOK"

There is nothing new about the food scarcity. It has become a greater and more dangerous emergency only because in the past two years we have failed to plan and work internationally to meet the problem.

When the foundation for the UN Food and Agriculture Organization was laid at Hot Springs, Virginia, back in June, 1943, the extent of the postwar problem of food was clearly seen. The International Wheat Conference meeting in London in September, 1945, pointed out the necessity of maintaining wartime controls to prevent feeding wheat to livestock. And back in April, 1946, Fiorello LaGuardia made a significant statement which was ignored by the men in our own government who sabotaged his international relief program. At that time LaGuardia said: "If food did not exist in the world, then we would all tighten our belts. But that is not so! There is food! Not enough to get the people in the distressed countries on normal rations, but there is enough to give them a minimum subsistence ration to be able to do some work."

We needed then and need now an over-all plan to conserve stocks, increase food production and ensure fair distribution at home and abroad.

The present voluntary program will not do the job. We shall continue to see rising food costs and no abatement in the profits of the speculators and even the legitimate food processors. The need for bold action and careful planning is apparent and a failure to meet the need will add to the intensity of the women's revolution. If the Administration were as bold in cracking down on home-grown profiteers as it is in pursuing the completely negative "anti-Communist" program at home and abroad, we could look to the future with more optimism.

THE billions we are pouring into war preparations are unproductive spending and one of the most important factors contributing to ever rising prices. Armaments production drains off men and materials needed to make tractors, build schools and houses, and to harness the power of our rivers. Our preparations for war are steadily lowering living standards for the bulk of our people. The present program of "national defense" is destined to sap much of the strength of our people and actually weaken our defense.

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We cannot shore up reactionary regimes all over the world, block land reforms, attempt to restore dangerous economic relations and not pay the price here at home. We cannot contribute to the division of Western Europe from Eastern Europe without forcing Western Europe to rely on the US for a large part of its food supplies. We want to help the hungry people of France and Italy and the victims of starvation on every continent, but if we are not to break the average American household, we must have protection from the profiteers and we must abandon the use of food as a political weapon.

Inflation and war preparations go hand in hand. We are paying outrageous costs at the grocery store for a foreign policy which will bring war, not peace, and which will continue to hit the American consumer every day of the year.

I BELIEVE the Administration and Congress are not yet fully aware of the growing revolt among women. The whole nature of a woman is to bring happiness into the world. Women want to aid suffering people wherever they may be. Women want peace. They will put up with unimaginable suffering if by so doing they can bring a little happiness to those they love. But they will not tolerate the callousness of a relief program that is based on an ever rising price level and can result only in emergency handouts abroad and an unnecessary lowering of living standards at home.

The most significant meetings in 1948, in my opinion, will not be the national conventions but the meetings of various women's organizations. They will protest with increased vigor the impossible prices and the threat of suicidal war. I shall hope that they are not driven by the present stupid policies into a dangerous feeling that a new isolationism is necessary. With planning, we can meet our obligations to destitute peoples abroad and maintain and improve the American standard of living.

The world problem today is not a problem of dividing, but of multiplying, existing wealth. H. W.

So You Want To Be a Diplomat

by Ralph G. Martin

You don't have to be rich, Anglo-Saxon or from Harvard to join the US Foreign Service—but it may help if you are

BOB BLAKE sat at the small table facing the five men. Each of them knew his whole history. This was the final weed-out, the dreaded State Department Foreign Service Oral Exam. These five would decide whether he was fit to represent the United States in Barranquilla or Bagdad, or whether he should go back home to Los Angeles.

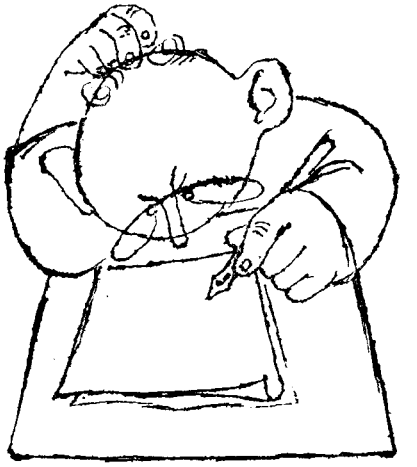
He could see them making mental notations on his presentability: appearance, manner, diction, readiness, forcefulness, effectiveness of personality, elasticity. The tip-off would be the language test. Everybody had told him, "If it's easy, they want you; if it's tough, they don't." When they handed him the language test, Bob knew. He was in.

Twenty-five years ago, one applicant for a State Department Foreign Service appointment had ranked first on the written exam, with a native fluency in eight languages, several college degrees, and personal references from high government officials. But he still couldn't get in. He was Jewish.

Things have changed since then, on the surface at least. Twenty-five years ago the State Department was a rich man's club, restricted largely to graduates of Harvard, Yale and Princeton. Foreign Service officials now refer to that as the Pre-Rogers Age. The Rogers Act of 1924 junked the "social-graces interview" and substituted competitive examinations. It also raised salaries, opening the field to the non-rich. Public Law 724, the Foreign Service Act of 1946, opened the door even wider. It gave the Service a director general to house-clean the deadheads under the Navy principle of "promotion up or selection out." Before that, ineffectives were seldom fired; they were hidden away like dirty laundry.

YOU can look in the thick State Department Register and, among the more recent appointments, find names representing almost every nationality. Joseph Green, executive director of the Foreign Service's Board of Examiners, likes to tell of four applicants who were all accepted one morning: a Californian of old New England stock, the Massachusetts son of an Italian barber, a New York Irish cop and a naturalized Austrian Jew.

But there still aren't any Nisei or Americans of Chinese descent in the



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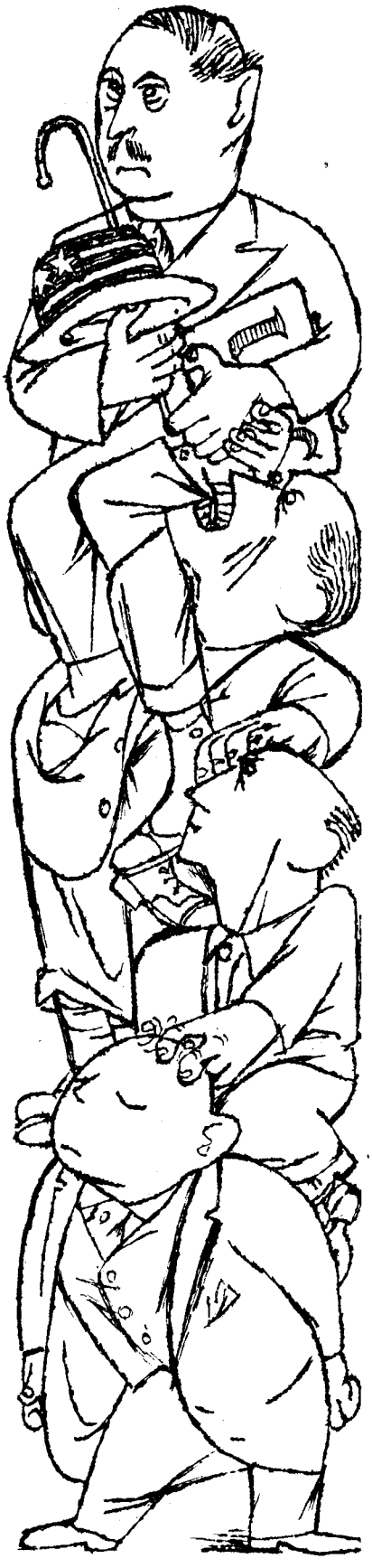

Drawings by Bernarda Bryson

Foreign Service and there are only four Negroes among the 1,191 Foreign Service Officers. This, despite the unmistakable language of Section 1,005 in the new law, which reads: ". . . nor shall there be any discrimination against any person on account of race, creed or color. . . ." It's at least theoretically all right for you to be from certain minority groups now, but you should look like the European conception of a typical American, whatever that is.

The physical examination will knock you out if you have ulcers or can't stand altitude or temperature extremes. The FBI will find out if you ever had a criminal record. And State Department special agents will investigate everything else, including that growing list of intimate human actions that have come to be known as "subversive activities."

BEFORE you take the Oral, there's a written exam that takes four full days. Of the 3,413 war veterans who took the Written recently, only 632 passed. That's about average. Some of the best men in the Foreign Service flunked it at least once. A Barcelona vice-consul, a Prima Honoris graduate of Yale, wrote to the independent *Foreign Service Journal* saying that some of the Spanish vocabulary in the exam was so technical even his Spanish friends were bewildered.

Technically, both the written and oral exams are supposed to have equal weight, but don't believe it. The Oral is IT. It never takes more than 50 minutes. After you leave, the board discusses you and grades you. You need 80 to get in. Seventy gives you another chance next year. Of the 632 who passed a recent Written, only 186 were finally selected.

Once you're accepted, you take a two-month course (soon to be three) at the year-old Foreign Service Institute. Beside fill-in lectures on countries and policies, there are two huge volumes of Foreign Service regulations to assimilate. They cover everything from Amounts Due Deceased or Incompetent Persons to How Much to Tip Porters, but are largely concerned with the non-glamorous deskwork needed to handle the six million people who visit US foreign posts each year—passports, visas, drunken sailors, invoices, bills of health, extradition. There's also a third huge volume in small print giving detailed suggestions for making reports. You'll make an average of 12 reports a week: local production of *ylang ylang*, seating capacity of a movie house, uranium deposits, sizes of projector carbons in certain lamps, and who's influencing whom on what. Then, some time before you graduate, some functionary will make the inevitable talk on Ethics.

Back in 1906, the talk advised new diplomats to "take snuff often and slowly, sit with your back to the light, speak the truth and the rest you will learn by observing your colleagues."

The 1946 advice went something like this: "Don't continuously smoke cheap cigars in a closed room with other people. . . . Don't shade your reports to make yourself important. . . . Remember that you're not supposed to stand on a bar and lead a community sing . . . and please don't become a stuffed shirt with a swelled head. . . ."

The last warning is especially important. Of course, if you're sent to London, you're just a third secretary lost in the shuffle of several hundred others. But if you're the new vice-consul at Tegucigalpa, Honduras, then you rate a five-gun salute on arrival. Or if you go to Port Limon, Costa Rica, you *are* the United States of America.

YOU can name four preferred posts on your personnel chart, but they'll probably send you somewhere else. But no matter where you go, you know this: you'll probably have to move within three years. Where you go depends on a lot of things. Negroes are limited to Liberia, the Azores, and very few other places. Catholics seldom go to the Vatican. Turkey prefers Jews to Christians. Women wouldn't be welcomed in Rumania. Foreign Service Officers of Greek descent won't usually be sent to Greece because the Foreign Office is

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afraid they'll be swamped by relatives wanting visas.

If you have children, the Service will try to keep you away from unhealthy places. Where you go also depends on your efficiency report, your specializations, who your wife is. During the war, a man was scheduled to go to Panama when his orders were suddenly changed. We had just finished ordering Panama to isolate her Germans, so we could hardly send down a representative whose wife was German. One of the rumored reasons why Norman Armour didn't succeed Edward Stettinius as Secretary of State was that Armour's wife is a former Czarist princess.

It is easy to understand why many of our FSO's (Foreign Service Officers) have married aliens. They come home so seldom they usually find their old girl friends married. This has been remedied to some extent by the new Foreign Service Act, which provides that every FSO must spend at least three of his first 15 years in the United States. It also orders a 60-day home leave every two years.

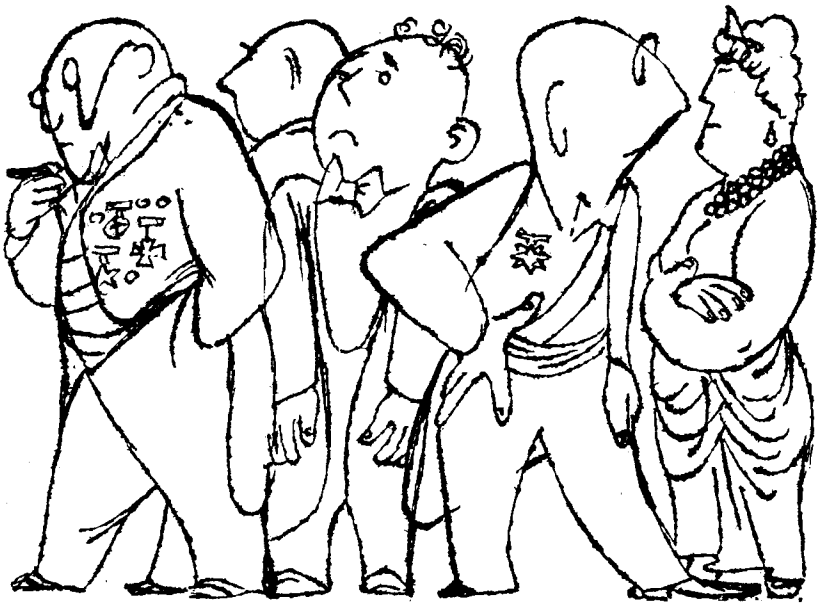
There have been complaints. One vice-consul wrote to the *Journal:*

"Nothing arouses more intense anger than to receive a telegram unexpectedly transferring you to another post where you do not want to go, when you know that an FSO in the next room has been corresponding with a friend in the Washington office who has asked him whether or not he would like to go to a certain post. . . ." Somebody estimated that one-sixth of all FSO's are in some process of transfer at any one time.

OTHER homecoming Foreign Service Officers have different gripes. The main ones are: too little allowance and too much red tape. A standard FSO joke is about the young diplomat who saw an old friend in the State Department corridor and stopped him, "Say, what brings you here?"

"Oh, I just came back to draft replies to the telegrams I've been sending for the past three months."

The charge of inadequate allowance, however, has brought a steady flow of caustic comment from Congress. During the debate on the 1948 State Department appropriation, one congressman said, "A review of the vouchers on file in the State Department very definitely indicates that there is too much entertaining for other than absolutely necessary purposes." What the congressman should have added was that the Foreign Service also spends considerable money entertaining visiting congressmen.



MUCH more important than this kind of criticism, though, is the constant charge of snobbery. One official told how warmly he had been received by the Chinese Ambassador and how coldly he was snubbed by the FSO's. It's a continuation of the pre-Rogers caste system where anybody from the department who was not a career man was regarded as an untouchable.

Still another vice-consul wrote to the *Journal,* describing his impressions of fellow diplomats on the boat from Lisbon to America shortly before our entry into World War II. "As a class, on that trip," he said, "I should estimate that 80 percent were anti-British, pro-Nazi and pro-Fascist."

But there's been a new crop of human beings recently, drawn from a much broader democratic base. From 800 FSO's in 1939, the Service expects to grow to almost 1,400 within two years, the bulk of them war veterans. With that, combined with the "selection out" which starts in November, 1949, we should have a considerably renovated Foreign Service.

If you intend to be a diplomat, you won't get rich. Only a handful ever get to be minister or ambassador, and their pay scale is from $13,500 to $25,000, with allowances. If that sounds like a lot, it doesn't last long when you're sent to some place like Paris or London or Rio. That's why our representatives there all are independently wealthy.

Still, you now have a better chance than ever before of becoming an ambassador. Not so long ago, even if you worked your way to the top, you could always expect to be replaced quickly by some defeated politician. Now, of the 65 ambassadors and ministers in the Foreign Service, only 13 are purely political appointees.

Don't let the brightening picture mislead you, however. Most of the FSO's in important positions were appointed before renovation of the Foreign Service began. The older men with responsibility who represent the US throughout the world today still belong, with a few notable exceptions, to the pre-Rogers school of anti-Semitic and Ivy League diplomacy. They constitute a hangover the State Department is suffering from its own past. The present renovation has some promising aspects, but a hangover of snobbery, like any hangover, takes time to cure.

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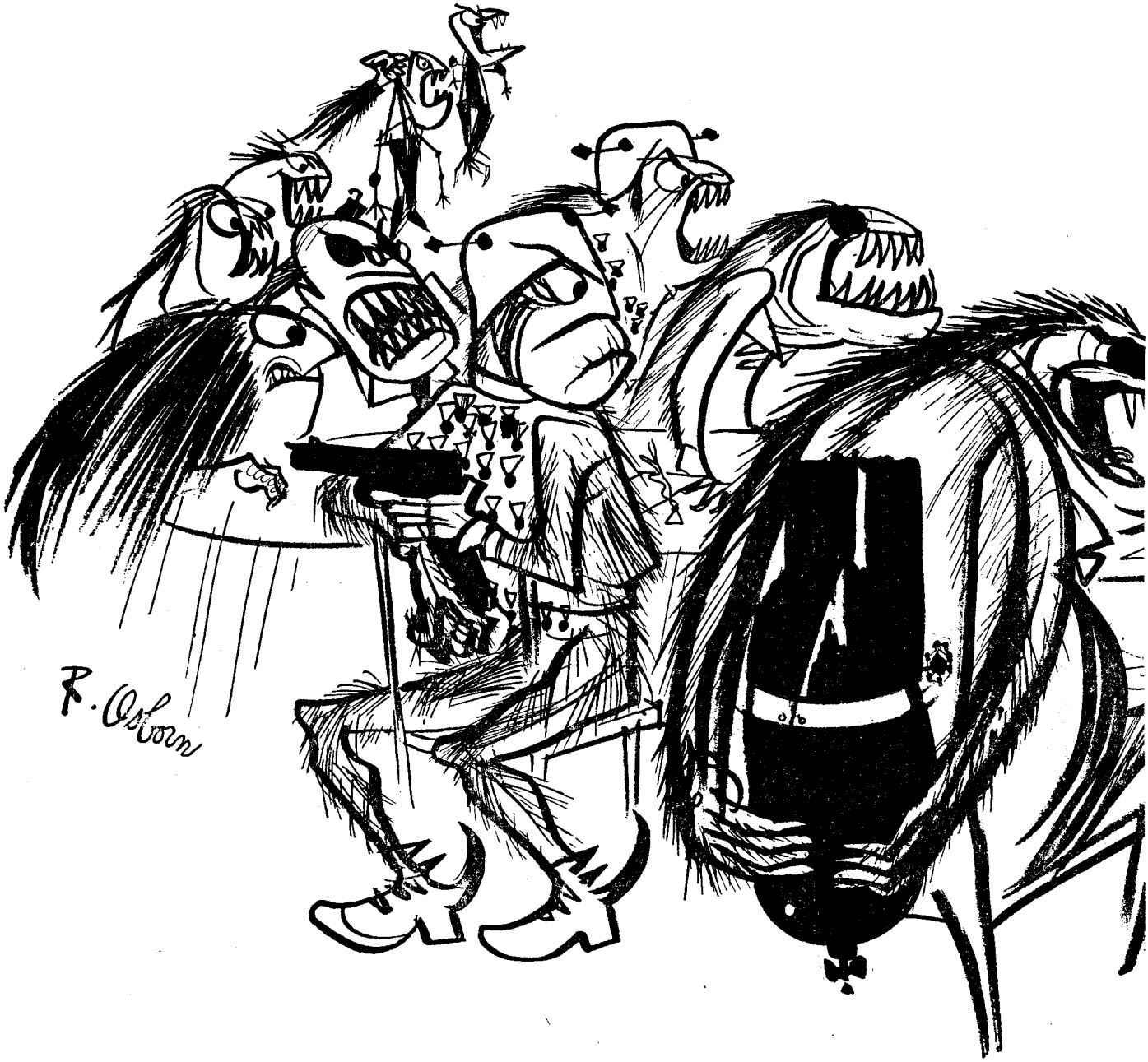

"AND FOR THESE ENDS to pra

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se tolerance and live together in peace . . ."

WE THE PEOPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS DETERMINED

to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and

to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and

to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

AND FOR THESE ENDS

to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors, and

to unite our strength, to maintain international peace and security, and

to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and

to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples,

HAVE RESOLVED TO COMBINE OUR EFFORTS TO ACCOMPLISH THESE AIMS.

From the CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS

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Medical Aid to Peace

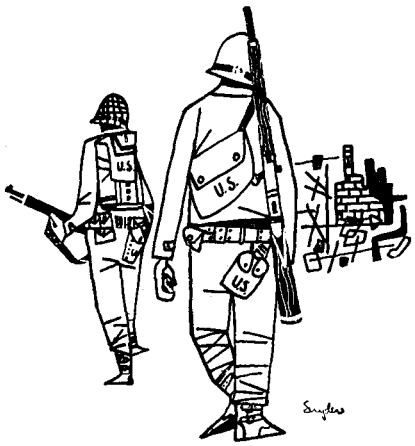
by Bruce Bliven

The psychiatrists believe they know what causes conflict—and that their knowledge may prevent the catastrophe of war

FOR the first time in history, scientific principles are being applied to investigating the problem of doing away with war.

Admittedly, the beginning is as yet pathetically small in relation to the size and urgency of the question. Yet if the scientists are right, theirs is the only line of attack which promises ultimate hope. They point out that at present no one else is attempting to solve this problem except by methods which have invariably failed, so that a major conflict has taken place every 15 or 20 years throughout history.

Whatever may have been the case in the distant past, war today is a completely irrational performance, utterly useless as a means of satisfying any of the legitimate aspirations of mankind. Many centuries ago, a victorious tribe could make itself richer by winning a not too extended conflict and by taking from the enemy his goods and land, and making slaves of his people. Today this is no longer true, as the results of the late Second World War graphically illustrate. The American people are paying heavy taxes, which are used, in part, to support their late enemies, after a conflict which destroyed, for this country alone, capital values equal to three-fifths of all the improvements that had been constructed through human labor since the landing of the Pilgrims. Given the final set of circumstances, Hitlerism had to be ended; yet nearly everybody would be far better off today if that war had never taken place.



"WAR IS IRRATIONAL"

Orthodox Marxian analysis says that in the modern world armed conflict is inevitable in the dying phases of monopolistic private capitalism. The Marxists argue that the capitalists, unable to solve the inherent contradictions of their system and to prevent recurring and deeper depressions, turn to foreign war as a method of postponing collapse. But you have only to look at the facts of contemporary history to see that this explanation is incomplete, to say the least. It does not cover dozens of wars which have occurred in recent years in parts of the world where capitalism exists only in a primitive form.

Moreover, in the twentieth century, the countries where capitalism is most advanced have, on the whole, been the most disinclined to fight, and even the Marxists recognize this fact by illogically charging them with "sitting on their ill gotten gains." The country chiefly responsible for the Second World War was Germany, which had previously attained a considerable degree of a distorted sort of socialism; Hitler and his group justified attacking their neighbors by using irrational arguments about the divine right of the Aryan to rule the world, and fictitious arguments about the need for greater living space.

Agreeing, then, that war is a senseless method of solving international disputes, that it produces no material benefits which are not far outweighed by its harm, why do men continue to fight? Why have we had a major war, as noted, every 15 or 20 years throughout all human history? Why is every war supported by the overwhelming majority of the religious and cultural leaders of every country involved, as well as by the mass of common people who are called upon to do the dying?

The answer to that question is the matter which deeply concerns the group of men whom I mentioned earlier. These men are psychiatrists, trained and experienced in analyzing human motivation and in the effort to channel the activities of individuals from bad to good—or from unnatural to natural—ends. Their analysis of the causes of and possible remedies for war is based on scientific work done by many highly reputable men in a dozen countries and over a long period of time.

For convenience in the present article, however, I shall rely mainly on the arguments of one outstanding individual in the group. He is Major General G. Brock Chisholm, former president of the Canadian National Commission on Mental Hygiene, director general of Medical Services for the Canadian army during World War II and at present executive secretary of the United Nations Interim Commission for the World Health Organization.

Psychological inadequacy

DR. CHISHOLM, and the group he represents, believe that nations fight because their leaders, to say nothing of the masses for whom these leaders speak, are not capable of approaching international problems in what is generally accepted as a rational

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and adult manner. The reason for this is that, through sheer ignorance, and certainly without meaning to, our society has failed to develop, in the overwhelming majority of people, mental and spiritual characteristics compatible with the degree of maturity which the tasks of the world require.

Governments, after all, are composed of people. National decisions are taken by human beings. While it is sometimes true that nations like Germany, ruled by irrational characters like Hitler, may attack and overrun a nation like Czechoslovakia, ruled by civilized individuals like Masaryk and Benes, most wars do not begin under those circumstances. They begin after steadily mounting hostility, suspicion and fear on both sides of a border have reached a breaking point where somebody fires the first shot. In such cases it is almost always true that those in responsible positions in both governments are guilty of acting with the psychological inadequacy I have described.

Battle of the neuroses

ACCORDING to Dr. Chisholm and the hundreds of other trained psychologists who have spent years in studying this question, men fight because, as individuals and regardless of the responsible posts they occupy, they are incapable of behaving like rational adults. They fight because the whole development of their characters as individuals has produced in the leaders on both sides hidden insecurities, fears and a sense of guilt which make it impossible for them to sit down reasonably and solve pending disputes on a sensible basis. The leaders who act in this way are supported by the inhabitants of their nations because these inhabitants suffer from the same psychic defects—a fact that holds for practically all countries in the modern world, and all their leaders, whether statesmen, soldiers, journalists, educators, religious guides or politicians.

In short, the more carefully you analyze the causes of any war in the modern world, the less important do economic reasons become. People go to war, say the psychologists, because of:

- Prejudice;
- Isolationism;
- Desire for power;
- Excessive fear of others;
- Belief in a destiny as a master race;
- Revenge;
- Refusal to see and face the facts about themselves and other people, especially when these facts are unpleasant;
- The ability to believe irrational myths.

Every one of these characteristics, the psychologists point out, is *a well recognized neurotic symptom.* They are seen repeatedly in the patients in institutions for the mentally deranged, as well as in those victims of milder maladies who voluntarily seek psychiatric aid. In other words, they are the characteristics of people who refuse to grow up, who carry over into adult life and sometimes into responsible positions as kings, presidents, generals, heads of great newspapers or vast industrial organizations, the attitudes and behavior patterns of children.

Indeed, the case is worse than this. These are the attitudes, not of children as they might be if they were allowed to grow up in a wholesome and natural state, but of children as our society unwittingly and unconsciously bends and perverts their nature almost from birth.

As opposed to the inferiority, guilt and fear of the typical neurotic personality, what are the characteristics of the true adult? As the psychiatrist sees it, the mature person:

- Is persevering;
- Is reliable;
- Practises tolerance;
- Is patient;
- Has great adaptability;
- Gives more than is asked of him;
- Endures difficulties uncomplainingly, when it is necessary. He defers to circumstances. Except on vital principles, he is willing to compromise.

And the mature person, in a society like ours, is inevitably dissatisfied with the status quo, and wants to change it for the better. In other words, he displays social concern—the wish to see the lot of others improved as well as his own. He does not devote himself merely to lip service to that ideal of improvement, but is willing to participate in efforts to bring about its realization.

It is the thesis of the psychiatrists about whom I am writing that it is perfectly possible by the use of scientific methods to prevent the development of neurotic personalities in a large majority of all human beings, including the future rulers of states and molders of public opinion.

How is this miracle of mankind pulling itself up by its bootstraps to be accomplished?

To answer this question, we must first see what it is that we do to almost all children which, after they have grown up—chronologically if in no other way—develops guilt, fear and infantilism.

Some shocking lies

IN the opinion of Dr. Chisholm and his associates, one great disaster comes because we destroy the child's sense of security by lying to him, lies which he afterward is forced by the logic of events to recognize for what they are.

It is only in the past few years that we have come to realize the tremendously important role played in the development of the child's mind by his respect for the wisdom, indeed the infallibility, of his parents. It is a be-

DR. G. BROCK CHISHOLM

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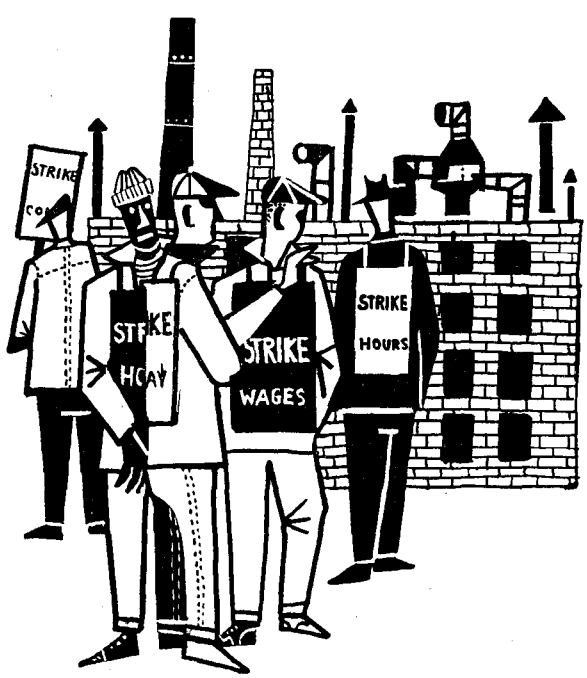
wildering world into which the infant emerges, and even more bewildering, of course, in civilized societies than among savages. All of us, from the cradle to the grave, are deeply obsessed with the desire to maintain and increase our security. The child clings to the parent for this reason; he asks his endless questions because of it. If he learns that a statement made to him by a parent in ostensible sincerity is false, his sense of security is damaged accordingly. And this is all the more true if the parent, often without meaning to do so, exhibits a sense of shock about some question innocently asked, as though the child had done something wicked by the very act of asking.

"Sex is not nice"

It often happens, for example, that the child, with perfectly natural curiosity, asks at an early age about sex. The parent, to whom sexual matters have strong emotional overtones, may be very much upset. Perhaps he tells the child that the stork brings the babies, or that they are found among the cabbages; or that the question is "not nice"; or that the child is too young to know of such things. Or perhaps—which is about as bad—he does not answer at all. But whatever the reply, the child is fairly certain to receive an emotional shock, to have the beginnings of a sense of guilt if only because he has clearly done something which disturbed the parent very much. If he was told a lie, it is altogether probable that within a few years at most the story will be nailed as a lie by some older playmate, and with overtones of scorn for the naïveté of the younger child which will leave their mark.

Every parent knows the great emotional satisfaction that comes from telling his three-year-old about Santa Claus, the round-eyed wonder with which the news is received, the jubilation when the presents are unwrapped after St. Nick has come down the chimney to leave them under the Christmas tree, or in the stocking hung to the mantel. Children never seem so adorable, so innocent and otherworldly as when they trustingly accept the fantasy the parents and grown-up friends create for them.

But here again, disillusionment is certain to develop eventually. The child learns, and again usually from a jeering older playmate, of the truth. (Quite possibly this older playmate, with his angry scorn of the younger child's baby ignorance, is unconsciously getting his own revenge for his disillusionment of a year or two ago.) Every psychiatrist has among his patients those to whom extremely serious difficulties in adult life can be traced to the shock and insecurity that have been produced in this or similar ways.



Drawings by Snyder

TO A PSYCHOLOGIST, STRIKES SEEM UNNECESSARY

This does not mean, of course, that there should be no fantasy in the child's life. All that is necessary is that the child should be given his fairy stories as such, as make-believe. Experience has proved in thousands of cases that this is just as satisfactory, to child as well as parent, and that it avoids the possible dangers of subsequently catching the parent in a lie.

Still more harmful, in many cases, is the sense of guilt which we deliberately instill in the child mind even though, again, without realizing its momentous consequences. The child at birth is an utterly unsocial animal and a ruthless egoist. He has to learn, during the process of growing up, that his wishes cannot be automatically and instantly granted just because they are his. But there is a right way and a wrong way of instilling this necessary discipline. The correct way is to point out that others have rights as well, that when these rights of two individuals meet in headlong collision, one party must give way, or a compromise of some sort must be effected. It is perfectly possible to do this in a fashion which will enable the child to get the point, without doing him any serious and lasting mental damage.

But the wrong way is the one unwittingly practised in millions of homes. It is to tell the child that his normal degree of egocentricity is something monstrous and wicked, that he is a bad boy, that God will punish him, or, alternatively—and about equally dreadful to the child—that big bears or other terrifying animals who live next door or just around the corner, will come and eat him up if he is not good.

Hottentots with consciences

The majority of parents, in all countries, pretend to an infallibility which they do not possess. In a rational world—and nobody knows better than the psychiatrists how far from rational our world is—people would realize the absurdity of setting up "unchanging" standards of right and wrong which in fact apply only to one segment of the earth's surface, only at one particular time, and perhaps only to a fraction of the people living on that segment at that time. Almost every one of the standards of morality we so earnestly inculcate in our children has been considered wrong at some time or place.

As Dr. Chisholm says (in a recent

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issue of *McLean's Magazine*): "An Eskimo's conscience tells him one thing, a Hottentot's conscience tells him another, and a Torontonian's conscience is different from both of them. You never, absolutely never, find an Eskimo born with a Hottentot's conscience, or either of them or both with a Toronto conscience—unless, of course, the Eskimo or the Hottentot is brought to Toronto as an infant and brought up like all other Torontonians. And in that case, they're equally certain to have a Torontonian, and not an Eskimo or a Hottentot, conscience." This "conscience" which does so much harm is instilled in the child, almost always, before the age of six; after that age it is difficult, sometimes impossible, to repair the damage that has been done.

Unendurable little monsters

THE feeling of guilt created in the child when he is held up to impossible standards of conduct would be bad enough if it applied only to actions which are more or less under his control, such as letting his little playmate have the toy fire engine for a while, or sharing his candy. Really serious damage comes when the child is asked to live up to standards which are impossibly high, which his parents should know are impossibly high. An excellent example is infantile eroticism, which is universal in mankind as it is in his distant cousins, the great apes, and has never yet been suppressed in any child except at the cost of serious psychological harm. The typical situation is the one in which the parents tell the child to abstain from certain conduct because it is inexpressibly wicked, conduct from which the child finds he is incapable of refraining, even though his actions set up a sense of guilt which may cast a shadow over his entire life.

This analysis of the mind of the child throws a startling light on the question of punishment for wrongdoing. If a child is punished unjustly, his resentment may leave serious psychological scars. But if he is punished justly—justly, that is, from the standpoint of the parent—the harm done may be equally great or greater, because of the feeling of guilt that is engendered; and the more severe the punishment, the greater the possible harm. In other words, parents who assume that the child has an automatic mental and moral mechanism which recognizes that he should suffer retribution in the case of wrongdoing, and that the matter is then closed, do not know what they are talking about.

Does all this mean that children should be allowed to follow their own impulses without restraint of any sort? Of course not. All of us have seen the shockingly bad results produced by parents who have misunderstood the precepts of modern psychology and allowed their children to develop into little monsters as unendurable to their potential playmates as they are to the adult world. The solution is to be found not in letting a child run wild, but in making him see the common sense of the rules and regulations by which society manages an endurable existence. If an automobile driver does not stop for the red light, he stands a good chance of having his car wrecked in a collision with someone for whom the light is green. If Johnny refuses to share his apple with Willie, Willie is likely to reciprocate in kind.

The unimportance of algebra

THE child is influenced, not merely by his parents but by any adult or every adult with whom he is in close contact. Nothing is more shocking, to the psychiatrist, than the way in which we turn our children over to ignorant and emotionally unstable people who proceed to do them great harm—harm which may many years later send them to a clinic for psychological care, if not indeed to an institution for the mentally deranged. (And the figures on the growing admissions to mental hospitals in this country and elsewhere are highly disturbing ones.) At present, most schools have graduated scales for teachers' salaries; we pay the least to those who care for the children in the all-important kindergarten and primary-school years, and the most to those who teach them in college, by which time little can be done to help or harm them. Probably, all teachers

"DEMAGOGUES ARE UNCIVILIZED"

should be paid the same basic rate; but if there is to be any difference, surely the kindergarten teacher should receive the largest remuneration.

Not only should those who teach in our schools know the fundamental laws of human behavior, but these laws can and should be taught to the children, of course in simplified form, in the lower grades. Dr. Chisholm observes that psychology, sociology and psychopathology should be standard parts of the course of instruction in primary and secondary schools; let us leave unimportant matters like trigonometry and algebra, which don't really matter to the average citizen, to be taught in the universities.

As an example of how wrong you can be, Dr. Chisholm tells of a town he knows where efforts were made to "rehabilitate" unmarried mothers. A large group of these were given intelligence tests; and the smarter ones were given jobs in stores or factories. The morons among them, too feeble mentally to be entrusted with those responsibilities, became nursemaids, taking care of the small children of the town's leading citizens.

Enemies are righteous too

TO the layman, it may seem a far cry from the patterns of infantile behavior I have been discussing, to the actions of statesmen, military leaders and editors of influential journals. These grown-ups are usually models of outward decorum. They give every visible appearance of being patient, farsighted, forbearing. They protest

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AGGRESSIVE IDEAS MAY DEVELOP EARLY

almost incessantly that the welfare of all mankind is their chief concern. When a war takes place a..d they are in responsible positions, they insist that they did everything possible to prevent it, and that it was only the savage willfulness of the leaders on the other side which finally forced them to resort to arms in the purest self-defense. This argument is, however, somewhat invalidated by the fact that the leaders on the other side are simultaneously issuing statements couched in almost identical terms; they can't both be right.

Stunted, bedeviled and drugged

THE psychiatrists insist there is a definite connection between the patterns of infantile behavior and the resort to conflict, at all levels, in adult life. Says Dr. Chisholm: "Misguided by authoritarian dogma, bound by exclusive faith, stunted by inculcated loyalty, torn by frantic heresy, bedeviled by insistent schism, drugged by ecstatic experience, confused by conflicting certainty, bewildered by invented mystery and loaded down by the weight of guilt and fear engendered by its own original premises, the unfortunate human race, deprived by these incubi of its only defenses and its only reasons for striving, its reasoning power and its natural capacity to enjoy the satisfaction of its natural urges, struggles along under its ghastly self-imposed burden. The results, the inevitable results, are frustration, inferiority, neurosis and inability to enjoy living, to reason clearly or to make a world fit to live in."

The psychiatrists find this similar recurring pattern in many conflict situations in the adult world.

For example, let us take a strike in a leading industry, where many thousands of men are idle for long periods of time. They lose wages which may amount to millions of dollars. Production is halted, needed goods are withheld from the market and, under normal circumstances, the company and its stockholders also suffer losses of millions of dollars. Yet such a strike is almost invariably settled with a compromise which might just as well have been instituted on the day the men walked out—or a week earlier.

The same is true of a great part of all the litigation with which our courts are filled.

It is true, again, of quarrels between married couples. I am not speaking now of those persons who are actually incompatible, who never should have married, but of those who quarrel bitterly and perhaps for years over issues of no real importance to either one and are eventually and perhaps repeatedly reconciled. (Of the marriages which end in a divorce court—and they are now one-third of all marriages in this country—the psychiatrists know that in an overwhelming proportion of cases, one of the couple, if not both, is afflicted with neurotic patterns of behavior arising out of infantilism, with its components of fear, guilt and insecurity.)

Admittedly, the headway which these psychological principles are making is painfully small when matched against the urgency of the situation. Yet there are some bases for hope. For instance:

This new science of psychiatry is very young. It is only half a century since Freud, who is its grandfather if not its father, began to enunciate his ideas. Only within the past decade or two has any attempt been made by the scientists to study the possibilities of applying these new principles to the realm of public affairs. All things considered, progress in knowledge, as distinct from its application, has been remarkably rapid.

Hundreds of thousands of people, in several of the leading nations of the world, now recognize the principles set forth above and are trying to live up to them. That is, they are trying to bring up their children without instilling in them those feelings of insecurity, guilt and fear which so often prove disastrous in later life. Such parents seek to give their children a chance to grow up into adults who, if they were in a position of authority, would be willing to settle international disputes on a rational give-and-take basis, instead of resorting to the essentially infantile device of war.

Obviously, the path to universal acceptance of these ideas, which many people resist bitterly for reasons rising out of their own early indoctrination, will be long and hard. Yet if the scientists are right in saying that here is the one great fundamental cause of conflict, at the international as well as at lower levels, the sooner we start upon this road, the better.

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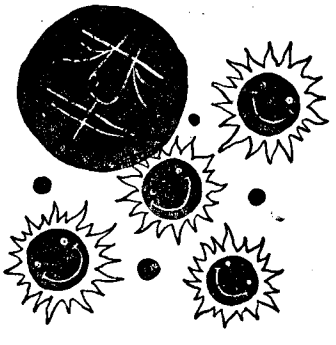
No cards are necessary . . .

talking about the imaginary combinations they have. . . ." The point, it may be, eludes me, but I have heard of better games.

THE section on the stars affords one example of extraordinary scientific ingenuity which, while not new, is not generally known to laymen. The method was devised by Harlow Shapley. It concerns an attempt to measure celestial distances between the earth and giant stellar systems so far away that the ordinary method of parallax—measuring distance by the apparent displacement of an object effected by a change in the position of the observer (hold a pencil at arm's length and see how it appears to switch around as you look at it first through one eye, then through the other)—does not work. Shapley conceived a new "measuring-rod" in



Look! No parallax!

the pulsating stars or Cepheides. It happens that most stars "glow quietly" but "there are a few that constantly change their luminosity from bright to dim, and from dim to bright in regularly spread cycles." The pulsating stars, with their regular "heart beats" of brightness, also possess the characteristic that the larger the star the longer the period of pulsation, "just as it takes a long pendulum more time to complete its swing than a short one." The giants take years for a beat, the small ones as little as a few hours.

Coupling these data with the fact that, in general, the bigger stars are the brighter, Shapley saw that he had been provided with an ideal instrument for measuring stellar bodies hundreds of thousands of light years away, stars so remote that the sun (separated from us by only 93 million miles) is, by comparison, as close to us as Kansas to Nebraska. For he realized that "there is an apparent correlation between the period of stellar pulsation and the average brightness of the star," and thus, by observing a Cepheid through a telescope, and measuring its period and apparent brightness, he was able to calculate its distances and, thereafter, to estimate the general dimensions of our stellar system.

Somehow it seems a pity that men who are so hungry for knowledge of the Cepheides and so ingenious in gaining it are so indifferent and retarded in learning about their own happy breed. JAMES R. NEWMAN

Worth Reprinting

AS editor of the *Portable Conrad* (Viking; $2), Morton Dauwen Zabel has achieved a sense of the man, his life and his work, remarkably solid and various, within a single volume. The book includes two novels, *Typhoon* and *The Nigger of the "Narcissus,"* several short stories and longer tales, notably "Heart of Darkness" and "The Secret Sharer," excerpts from Conrad's critical writings and selections from his letters. As an anthology, the selections are bound together by copious notes, and an elegiac (but none the less discriminating and useful) introduction provides a biographical background and a critical estimate of Conrad's achievement as an artist.

Almayer's Folly (Penguin Books; 25 cents), Conrad's first novel, was published in 1895 when he was almost 40 years old and had already served for 20 years in the British merchant marine. It attracted some critical acclaim and initiated a career that has made Conrad a hero of the dedicated artist's life. He was tortured by depression, indolence and extreme nervousness, relates Zabel, and "by an appalling exertion of will power, his books were shaped." Unfortunately, his former occupation obscured his achievement; he was generally known as a writer of sea stories. This misconception annoyed Conrad, who wrote: "I may have been a seaman, but I am a writer of prose. Indeed, the nature of my writing runs the risk of being obscured by the nature of my material," even though "in the body of my work barely one-tenth is what might be called sea stuff." Such simplifications are tenacious, however, and this narrow reputation all but encloses him even today.

Zabel dispels the myth but relates both Conrad's maritime background and material to the pervasive theme of his writing: "The plight of the man on whom life closes down inexorably." Whether by circumstances, such as personal disgrace, or from a defensive pride, the character is forced into a moral isolation where, without the usual supports of fortune or friends, he faces alone "the hazardous enterprise of living."

In *Victory* (Doubleday; $2.50), the character Heyst illustrates the classic situation of a Conrad hero. The illusion of an "untested misanthropy" disqualifies him from participation in life. "In his pride he determined not to enter." But when his isolation is menaced, "Heyst in his fine detachment had lost the habit of asserting himself," and he "loses his mental self-possession." Thus, as in Conrad's other tales, the account of life is a skeletal action resolving in the inevitable crisis in which the hero makes his moral choice. Just what the morality is behind the choice has puzzled Conrad's readers. He has been represented as a purveyor of a "flattering brand of muscular stoicism," and E. M. Forster has claimed that "we needn't try to write him down philosophically, because there is, in this direction, nothing to write. No creed, in fact."

To these criticisms, Zabel's final word is that Conrad "was hardly an explicit moralist. He was a novelist,

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a dramatic artist in human character. His best work is always more than the sum of his conscious motives and critical faculties." Nevertheless, a moral choice in his characters claims weight from its reference to Conrad's values, and of these we have at least a minimum of evidence close to the surface of his writing. "The temporal world," he wrote, "rests on a few very simple ideas . . . notably, amongst others, on the idea of Fidelity." And in his fiction we find two loyalties that claim obedience and define character: man's loyalty, as a social creature, to his fellows and, most important, his loyalty to self, to an ideal of honor which is the final tribunal in the personal life, for "all a man can betray is his own conscience." The real end of the "test of experience" is the discovery of self and of reality. Reality is described in different ways. It is the "warlike conditions of existence," or the "destructive element," which, paradoxically, man can invoke as a support, just as you can "with the exertions of your hands and feet in the water make the deep, deep sea keep you up."

A SECOND criticism, not essential but occasional, concerns what Zabel calls the "excessive emphasis" of Conrad's style, "an insistence that is a prevalent threat to his realism, his sincerity and his truth." Conrad confessed to a want of inventive imagination. His dramatic situation is often posited, and then worked out not in recorded action, but in the reflections of the narrator or a detached observer. The weakness in this method (Conrad more often demonstrates its strength) is that the narrator may force into his tale a significance not justified by the thinly presented facts.

Subtract all qualifications, however, and the work remains one whose richness is not easily estimated, although I think it is suggested in these words from one of Conrad's letters: "One thing that I am certain of is that I have approached the object of my task, things human, in a spirit of piety. The earth is a temple where there is going on a mystery play, childish and poignant, ridiculous and awful. . . ."

JOHN FARRELLY

Music

Romantic Melancholy

CONTINUING in its attempts to jar American operatic taste out of the rut of conventionality, the New York City Opera Company has revived Jules Massenet's "Werther." A lyric version of Goethe's doleful romance of unrequited love, "The Sorrows of Werther," the opera was last sung in New York City by Geraldine Farrar in 1910 and in Chicago by Mary Garden in 1925. "Werther" is generally considered one of the chief masterpieces of late-nineteenth-century French lyric drama, and it holds a regular place in the Paris Opera repertory. It is better constructed and less precious than "Manon," the only Massenet opera well known to American audiences. Yet the City Center's venture is not likely to bring "Werther" into popular favor, for the production has too much the air of a conscientious project in musicology and too little theatrical flair.

Beautiful women were the center of Massenet's universe, and his chief endeavor as a composer was to enhance their fascination. Though he was particularly attracted by the women of history and fiction whose lives progressed from passionate self-indulgence to purification through either religion or tragic suffering—Thaïs, Cleopatra, Salome, Manon, Daudet's Sapho—his enthusiasm also included such chaste heroines as Cinderella, Griselda, and Charlotte, the incorruptible object of Werther's hopeless adoration. In the prima donnas he chose for these roles Massenet always required remarkable beauty, or at least an ability to project the impression of it. If they could also sing well, so much the better. Massenet's ideal interpreter was Mary Garden.

The staging of "Werther" in the terms demanded by Massenet presents a double problem in the choice of the right personalities, for here he made the hero a co-star instead of the usual satellite. Without a Charlotte whose loveliness is unendurable when it belongs to another man, and without a Werther whose melancholy amounts to more than the stiff delivery of a series of soliloquies, there is no point or force to Massenet's fleshly corruption of Goethe's romantic idealism.

SINCE "Werther," unlike a good many operas, is an effective theater piece, the presence of the wrong people in the cast can rob it of the credibility a "Trovatore" continues to have no matter who appears in it. Winifred Heidt has the kind of good looks which enable her to be a piquant Carmen, but her Charlotte fails to convey to the audience, through either facial or bodily expression, the radiance of a simple small-town girl for whom loyalty to the husband chosen for her by her dead mother constitutes a spiritual necessity. Her performance moves from cold, empty calm to a tortured neuroticism which has no romantic aura but all the grim modernity of a psychoanalytical novel. The impact of her able singing thus seems directed to a spurious dramatic end. As Werther, Eugene Conley vocalizes quite well, but he refuses to accept even the kindergarten responsibilities of an actor. To remove any trace of flesh and blood, the opera is presented within an oval frame designed to make it look like something quaint preserved in an old album. I still think "Werther" will be a success when it is knowingly staged. And even the City Center's obliteration of its theatrical values does not obscure the eloquent score, which Jean Morel conducts superbly.

CECIL SMITH

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Radio

Mayflower: 1948

Do you think that the owner of a radio station should be allowed to use the air for editorials?

Right now, under the so-called "Mayflower" rule, the Federal Communications Commission forbids broadcasters to use the air for their own "partisan ends." But the National Association of Broadcasters, backed by big newspaper publishers and the National Association of Manufacturers, has been campaigning for a year and a half against the Mayflower rule. Under this pressure, the FCC has agreed to reconsider its stand on air editorials. A public hearing on the issue is scheduled to open before the FCC in Washington on January 12.

I think it's important that the listener think over the issue, take his stand on the Mayflower rule, then see that his viewpoint is presented before the FCC next January. By way of kicking off the debate, I have asked two radio men for their opinions.

Nathan Straus's station has been outstanding for its liberalism and known —to use his own phrasing—as "an advocate of minority rights and democratic institutions."

The United Auto Workers (CIO) is preparing to be on the air with three FM radio stations (in Detroit, Chicago and Cleveland) by the time the FCC opens its hearing on the Mayflower rule. Allen Sayler's interest in the matter, therefore, is not merely academic.

There was nothing academic, either, about the FCC's original ruling. Here is how the whole thing came about. In 1940, the Mayflower Broadcasting Corporation applied for a license to operate a station in Boston. Mayflower wanted not any old place on the dial; it wanted the channel then being occupied by Station WAAB. Mayflower contended that the Yankee Network, operator of WAAB, had forfeited its right to renewal of the license by violating a principle inherent in the postulate that the people own the air. WAAB, it was alleged, had allowed its news editor to plug a political candidate favored by the license-owner.

The FCC found that the Mayflower accusation was true; that "indeed, the station seems to have taken pride in the fact."

On January 16, 1941, the FCC handed down its decision in the Mayflower-WAAB case. The Yankee Network was given a renewal of license for WAAB. But Yankee was told it must sin no more. Yankee—and all other broadcasters—must never editorialize again.

As Nathan Straus points out, commentators were soon absolved from the Mayflower ruling and ever since they have frequently been selected for viewpoints similar to, if not identical with, the station owner's, or the network chief's, or even with the sponsor's. That's not the only loophole in the Mayflower concept. You may hear Colonel Robert R. McCormick any Saturday night (Mutual, 10-11) interrupting the "Chicago Theater of the Air" with a frankly labeled "weekly editorial." McCormick is owner of WGN, where this show originates. On the other hand, radio documentaries have been aimed at slums or juvenile delinquency; spot announcements have urged fire prevention; jingles preached racial understanding. Are these all editorials according to Mayflower?

John S. Knight, publisher of the Chicago *Daily News*, Detroit *Free Press* and several other newspapers, ran a signed editorial in his *Free Press* a couple of weeks ago, calling for elimination of the Mayflower rule. John Knight has reason to be concerned. His Chicago *News* is heavily

"No"

by Nathan Straus

President, Station WMCA, New York

RADIO should not be allowed to monopolize the airwaves with the opinions of the owners of radio stations. That is the sound basis of the Mayflower decision which prevents a station from being what the FCC calls "an advocate."

But there are all kinds of advocates. There is the advocate of truth and honesty, the advocate of minority rights and democratic institutions. Obviously, radio must be permitted some editorial freedom to program in behalf of these objectives. To assert the contrary is to make a mockery of the licensee's obligation to operate in the public interest, convenience and necessity.

The Mayflower decision has already been reinterpreted to give commentators the right of an opinion on the air. A similar interpretation should be applied in regard to station owners. If the licensee has, in the judgment of the public authorities, sufficient integrity to be entrusted with the operation of a radio station and the determination of what programs are aired, he must surely be deemed deserving of the right to use a few minutes of the broadcasting day to express opinion.

"Yes"

by Allen W. Sayler

Radio Director, United Auto Workers (CIO)

THE Mayflower decision says in part:

Freedom of speech must be broad enough to provide full and equal opportunity for the presentation to the public of *all sides of public issues*. Indeed, as one licensed to operate in a public domain, the licensee has assumed the *obligation of presenting all sides of important questions*, fairly, objectively, and without bias. (Italics mine – A.S.)

Large and powerful radio interests, together with newspaper publishers, are now challenging this concept. Greater freedom of speech for the broadcast owner means less for the public in the community the station serves. If radio stations are to become instruments for the expression of the views of the private owner, rather than the community, then the idea of public ownership of radio channels has become a fiction.

So far, this controversy has been limited to statements of corporate radio interests and their spokesmen —who hold that "radio should be as free as the press." What's so free about our press? . . . Let's keep the Mayflower rule as it stands.

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interested in WIND, Chicago; his Miami *Herald* is listed as owner of Miami's WQAM and WQAM-FM.

Knight complained that broadcasters "are prohibited by law from expressing any opinions about the state of the nation, local garbage collection or a sticky-fingered sheriff." Knight knows, of course, that no one objects to garbage collection; there is disagreement only on who shall pay how much for such service. And that's where a wealthy broadcaster and his less wealthy listeners might disagree. But the broadcaster cannot get on the air now to advocate a tax structure that happens to suit his purse. Straus believes that the man entrusted with a radio license should enjoy the still greater confidence of the community. Sayler disagrees. This is what the FCC said in its original Mayflower decision:

The public interest can never be served by a dedication of any broadcast facility to the support of his [a license holder's] own partisan ends. . . . A truly free radio cannot be used to advocate the cause of the licensee. It cannot be used to support the candidacy of his friends. It cannot be devoted to the support of principles he happens to regard most favorably. In brief, the broadcaster cannot be advocate.

Justin Miller, president of the NAB and chief spokesman for the opponents of the Mayflower ruling, is against any kind of "governmentalization." He sees the broadcasters not only as "custodians" of a great medium of mass communication, not only as people with an economic stake in freedom from any kind of government control, but also as "the articulate voice" of America. "A country cannot continue to be free," declares Miller, "unless its people are free to express themselves." And who shall be the voice of the people? "We . . . the broadcasters," insists Miller.

WHAT these broadcasters shall be free to advocate was set down more explicitly by Robert R. Wason, chairman of the board of the NAM. Addressing the NAB's convention recently, with Miller on the platform, Wason said:

Radio should join with all other industries to restore freedom of competitive enterprise, to put an end to needless controls, price fixing, subsidies . . . and other expressions of statism. . . . As Americans you [the broadcasters] owe it to your country to express the abilities and education you possess. . . . You must defend the competitive-enterprise system that made America. . . . Radio can reduce the controls that choke us. Radio can keep us free. Radio: guard our liberties!

There they are: Straus and Sayler; Miller and Wason; and the FCC *circa* 1941. What do you think? What price Mayflower 1948?

SAUL CARSON

Bandwagon

That All-Out Effort

PRESIDENT URGES CUT IN
ACCIDENT DEATHS TO 75,000
Says 100,000 Total Is Drain on
Manpower and Resources

– *Head and subhead in the St. Louis* Post-Dispatch.

New World A-Coming

European businessmen in West Africa are sad over the recent extension of French citizenship to literate colored persons in Senegal, Guinea, French Sudan and the Ivory Coast, Dakar reports, and particularly over the abolition of compulsory labor. – *From the Boston* Post.

Please Do Not Disturb

His death came as a shock for the reason that he was at work as usual on the day he died, and just passed away in his sleep. – *From an obituary in the* Idaho Coal Dealer.

Godsend

SOME BRITONS SEE
RECESSION AS BOON
Full Employment Viewed as
Drawback Because Labor Lacks
Goad of Hunger

– *Head and subhead in the New York* Times.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.* – THE EDITORS

Christ. *God, Man or Myth?*

Did Christ himself write down any record of his life? If so, where are these writings today? Do they exist in any museum or library or sacred shrine? Can you find a trace of them in the vast and mysterious subterranean archives of the Vatican in Rome? The answer is NO! Nowhere has any man been able to discover a single word that Jesus wrote!

Who, then, wrote the Christian Gospels? And when were they written? By some historian after the death of Christ? Or are these Gospels merely myths and legends handed down to us from a civilization that existed long before the time of Christ?

At last you can get the FACTS about Christ and the Christian Church in a startling new book just off the press called "A Shield Has Two Sides" written by the eminent author, scholar and historian Wallace Stockwell.

Here is a book for people who are not afraid to look reality in the face! A book for men and women who refuse to wear mental blinders! It reveals TRUTHS about the Christian Church of today—both Catholic and Protestant—that will shock many. For it pulls no punches and presents facts known to but few.

"A Shield Has Two Sides" is not sold through bookstores for reasons you will readily understand after you have read the first few pages. But the Publishers will gladly send a copy on approval to any sincere seeker of knowledge, over 21, who seeks unbiased facts about the Christian Church and how it functions today. Dramatic illustrations. Send only $1.00 in full payment.

Read "A Shield Has Two Sides" Without Risking a Single Penny

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Theater

The Non-Existent America

ALL I can conclude from the performance of "Allegro" at the Majestic Theater is that the Messrs. Rodgers and Hammerstein bitterly regret being the richest and most successful people in the American theater and wish they could go back to Spirit, South Dakota, or Barstow, California, or some other suitable small, simple community, and there devote their talents to playing the organ for the town glee club and composing songs for the high-school football team. "Allegro" is a hymn in praise of the holy and spotless virtues of backwoods poverty, and a blistering attack on the sham and general worthlessness of the Big City.

BEFORE embarking on this venture, the authors should have read Sherwood Anderson's *Winesburg, Ohio,* a slightly less saintly account of what small-town life is like than the offering at the Majestic. The whole notion of the moral superiority of the village over the city, a notion which appears with dull regularity in our popular art—where it is advanced almost entirely by citizens who can be driven from town only by an extraordinarily hot summer—is one that cannot bear even a moment of investigation.

The talented young people of every land and time have fled the countryside and happily thrown themselves into the sinful, inspiring whirl of the city, including, of course, Mr. Rodgers and Mr. Hammerstein. And, sin for sin, greed for greed, I will match any small town against the most Gomorrah-ish city in the world.

Now, after saying all this, after saying that I believe the authors have built their play on a sugar-candy lie, I must admit I had a good time. For even the almost solid cloud of sentimentality which envelops the play cannot obscure entirely the sharp, satiric wit of the two masters. Here, and there, in fitful, brilliant rebellion against the downy nonsense all around it, the real talent of the authors shines through. In a song and dance number, "Money Isn't Everything," which by the way is the play's own most devastating criticism, five housewife-nymphs dancing around a clothesline say a clear and final word on the subject. Money isn't everything, they sing, waving laundry and an old copy of *Vogue,* if you've got it.

And a hilariously bitter portrayal of a fashionable cocktail party, in which, I suppose, the authors pay their respects to their current friends, makes you regret that they did not shine the same pitiless and amusing light across all their scenes.

Agnes de Mille, who did everything but take the tickets on opening night, directed the play and did the choreography. She gives us a dancer's idea of what a musical play should be like, and I must say it is a good one. Through a monumentally deft succession of sets by Jo Mielziner, in which beauty unfortunately is sacrificed to speed, Miss de Mille floats the play on the light, glittering feet of expert dancers, of whom she seems to have an endless, hidden store. It is experimentation de luxe, in itself a commendable thing in a theater where almost all previous experimentation has come out of the bare necessity of hunger.

Still, after all the melody and all the intricate, charming dance, the shadow of the authors' guilt lies darkly across the evening. Under orders from a foreign power, let's say the *Saturday Evening Post* or M-G-M, they have sacrificed themselves in a cause that is not their own.

ACROSS town, another musical comedy, "High Button Shoes," is without pretension and, unhappily, almost without merit. Two comedians who at other times have seemed very funny, Phil Silvers and Joey Faye, and a pretty and knowing performer, Nan-

WOULD YOU LIKE TO KNOW HOW TO THINK about the UNITED NATIONS

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ette Fabray, struggle brassily against limp material, and lose. There is one lunatic and magnificent ballet by Jerome Robbins, a Mack Sennett chase sequence done with a dozen swinging doors, an improbable gorilla, a half-dozen or so ghastly bathing beauties, and the somber family of three known as the Addams family to *New Yorker* readers. These save the evening.

I saw it on the second night, when it seemed to me the performance was down, possibly because the actors had given their all to the first-night reviewers; and I stared disbelievingly at the audience around me which was enjoying it so loudly. I must confess the thought crossed my mind that these well dressed and happy people had somehow been hired by the management to laugh three times a minute. IRWIN SHAW

Movies

Fire and the Sword

THE new releases are showing a very high incidence of costume spectacles, but this need not, at least for the present, be identified as a trend. Five major films of the past couple of weeks have disguised their familiar casts in antique clothing and unconvincing wigs, taught them to ape the manners of their more cultured forebears and tested them against the hazards of fire, water, plague, native uprisings and cold steel. The old blood of "Ben Hur" and "The Covered Wagon" is coming out again and time does not improve it.

Three examples should be enough to show how the strain carries on. These films, though they have their points of difference, are all cut from the same piece of predictable cloth. In each case the performers are too burdened by their finery to give much thought to their work, disastrous acts of God are employed to accelerate the flagging acts of man, and the directors have set their metronomes to a beat so slow that the pauses echo.

NO one today could possibly go to the inevitable "Forever Amber" in a state of innocence, and warnings therefore are gratuitous. The situation calls for a quick factual report.

Linda Darnell, in obedience to the needs of the story but without feeling any obligation to become involved in it, paces out the Amber trail from her narrow village to the dressing room of the king. She is assisted to her goal in part by the admiration of several dashing gentlemen, in part by the Black Death and the Great Fire of London. The moral is bitter enough to satisfy the most vindictively upright. Cornel Wilde, as her principal stepping-stone, does his best to pass as flesh and blood, and George Sanders plays Charles II with an erotic lethargy that approaches coma. The rest of the cast is submerged.

There is a good deal of horseback riding; pistols and swords are very much in evidence; and the film swarms with desperate characters and is bathed in Technicolor.

ELIZABETH GOUDGE'S *Green Dolphin Street,* winner of M-G-M's first annual novel award, teaches the unusual lesson that if you pick similar

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names for your two beautiful daughters (in this case, Marianne and Marguerite), a besotted suitor may become confused when writing you for the hand of one of them. This shocking accident befalls the daughters of a wealthy Channel Island shipowner in the age of the clipper ships, and sends the wrong girl to New Zealand and the right one to a convent.

The film will bid for your attention with an earthquake, a Maori uprising, what is called a tidal wave but looks uncommonly like a dam break, and an agonizing but quite unnecessary climb up a shaft in an abandoned smugglers' cliff. Lana Turner, the wrong sister, is like Amber in that she dominates the menfolk and bears a child under very difficult circumstances. Her motives, however, are unselfish and her methods pure, so the conclusion is only gently sad. The cast assays very high, including, among others, Van Heflin, Donna Reed, Richard Hart, Frank Morgan, Dame May Whitty and Edmund Gwenn. None of them do anything exceptional except Morgan, who has picked up a number of Lionel Barrymore's most alarming mannerisms.

"HUNGRY HILL" is a British version of the above, less spendthrift and more tight-lipped. In this case the determined character is a British mine owner of the 1850's whose passion for wealth scorns the curses of the Irish peasantry his ambitions trample upon. It doesn't do, though, to go pushing around people on such good terms with the wee folk, and before we're through, Hungry Hill gets its revenge at compound interest.

It has become a commonplace to remark that the English produce films superior to ours in taste, imagination and subtlety, and it may be good for our egos to know that they are still willing to stir up a pot of vengeful fate and erring scions. J. Arthur Rank, who should be able to recognize a tired script even when Daphne du Maurier writes it and perfunctory acting even when Margaret Lockwood heads the cast on horseback, issues "Hungry Hill" as a Prestige Picture.

R. L. H.

Correspondence

The Well Fed Child

SIR: In a full-page advertisement in the October *Ladies' Home Journal,* the American Meat Institute asks, over a picture of a charming child: "Are you feeding them enough meat?"

My answer is no, I'm not feeding them enough meat. . . . Here is my problem: I have three growing children, all of school age. My husband earns an excellent salary; we are much better off financially than the average American family. After taxes, insurance, payments on the house, medical expenses, savings and other deductions, I have $275 a month to spend on feeding and clothing the family, running the family car and paying household expenses. . . .

My milk bill is about $20 a month. Hot lunches at school for my children cost me $16. . . . Supposing I devote half of my monthly $275 to food, I have $100 to spend at the grocery store after the milk and school lunches are paid for. This is less than $4 a day, less than $25 a week. Since I am alone for lunch on school days, I serve 85 individual meals a week. This works out roughly to 28 cents a meal. . . .

We can if we like use money earmarked for other purposes to buy more meat, the money we have saved and are saving to educate our children and to ensure the independence of our old age. We could stop giving to charities or get along without a car if we had to. I couldn't skimp on clothes much more than I do; food prices have already swallowed the new winter coat I need. But there must be a tremendous number of people who feel the pinch much more sharply than we do. For their sake as well as mine, I'm asking the Meat Institute some questions of my own.

Does speculation in foodstuffs contribute to high costs? It sounds as if the Institute is in a position to do something about that. Are there undue profits or unreasonable costs anywhere along the line from farmer to consumer? Are there wasteful merchandising methods in the industry? Could its advertising appropriation be more advantageously used?

I don't know the answers to these questions, but I know the answer to the Institute's. I'm not feeding my growing children enough meat, and I don't see any immediate prospect of being able to do better for them.

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FOREIGN PRESS: France Looks at the US

THERE was a time when most French news about America was limited to bloodcurdling accounts of the activities of *les gangsters*. But today American social and political affairs are discussed in minute detail. Even the omnipresent daily problems of bread rations and coal are presented within the framework of American aid to France.

If a Frenchman reads only the leftist press, he will believe that the US is helping France in order to enslave her. If he reads rightist publications exclusively, he will think that the US is interested solely in preserving France's independence. Only the de Gaullist press maintains a curious play of light and shadow, well represented in a front-page article by Raymond Cartier in the popular de Gaullist weekly, *Samedi-Soir*.

SAMEDI-SOIR

"Behind the [Washington] office of General Marshall there is a metal door," says the article, opening in the good old French tradition of livid journalism. "The door leads into a chamber as secret as were the famed map-rooms of the army's GHQ." In this vaulted steel chamber there is "an immense world map," with Russian territories marked in red and other nations indicated by secret special symbols.

"Every day," writes Cartier, "seven men gather in front of this map . . . their chief George Kennan, 43, career diplomat, student of Plato and specialist on Russian problems. . . . They centralize, study and interpret intelligence reports, try to anticipate enemy offensives and decide on advantageous zones for counter-attacks. They are engaged in economic and political warfare, a bloodless but fierce battle."

Kennan and his staff are "passionately" interested in maintaining France as an outpost against communism, says the article, and would, if necessary, use de Gaulle as their tool, even though Washington does not like *Le Général*, as evidenced by "a secret State Department document . . . handed a congressional committee departing for Europe." Cartier then quotes the document:

"France, the heart of Western Europe [so goes the "secret" US document] stands at a [political] crossroads. De Gaulle has taken the anti-Communist stand. But his unveiled totalitarian concepts have so alienated labor groups, whether Communist or not, that now his main support comes from the discredited rightist parties. De Gaulle's chances of ascending to power remain slim so long as there is a constitutional government."

In spite of these American reservations, Cartier claims that when Marshall's "political staff" ponder the "sprawling red mass of bolshevism," they know that they must rely on a French bastion "at any price" and, "should France's internal crisis sharpen into a revolutionary situation," the United States Government "would back de Gaulle."

AN ARTICLE by Claude Marolles in the royalist weekly *Ici France* describes the author's impressions, gained during several months in the US, of what Americans consider the Perfect American Woman. She is: "loved by all men, and man's equal intellectually." The writer admits he didn't happen to meet such a paragon of female perfection, but he maintains that it is the attempt to live up to this ideal—and failing—which sends American women scurrying to divorce courts and psychoanalysts. Furthermore, writes Marolles, there is "the preoccupation with security, constantly reiterated by educators, psychiatrists, politicians and women.

ICI FRANCE

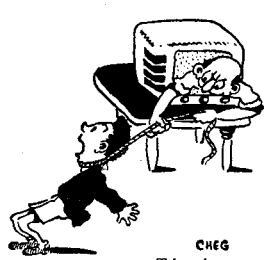
"Love and marriage," he informs his French audience, "are considered as one and the same thing, partly so as not to shock old puritanical ideas, and mainly to exclude all elements or risk. . . . One must quickly, very quickly, baptize all romantic attachments love, and then immediately rebaptize them happiness."

French newspapers have been carrying on quite a debate: should radio be controlled by the state, as it is in France today, or should air time be sold to private sponsors? The majority of the press has favored government monopoly on the grounds, strange to our private-enterprise-trained minds, that government alone is in a position to be impartial and therefore to maintain true freedom of the air.

Témoignage Chrétien

But in the course of the debate there are some to whom freedom is objectionable—when practised by "the other side." A radio columnist of the religious weekly *Témoignage Chrétien* protests a 10-minute weekly program of "The Voice of Freethinkers," because: "Not satisfied with exhorting its faithful to follow the doctrine," the Voice emits "learned diatribes against 'rival' religions heard on the air. . . ." Specifically, the writer objects to a recent Freethinker broadcast warning French youth that "the Church was leading them into error, since reason cannot admit what experience is unable to demonstrate. . . . Man created God after his own image. . . . Religion is merely a phenomenon of anxiety."

Recalling that political propaganda on French radio is permitted only during election periods and debates at the Tribune de Paris, the writer sarcastically questions whether "it would be too much to ask that religious and anti-clerical propaganda be admitted only during Council periods?" (*Témoignage* evidently refers to the Catholic Ecumenical Councils, the last of which was held in 1870.)



CHEG
Témoignage Chrétien

A curious publication, *Dissidence 40*, has made its recent debut on Paris newsstands. In the very first is-

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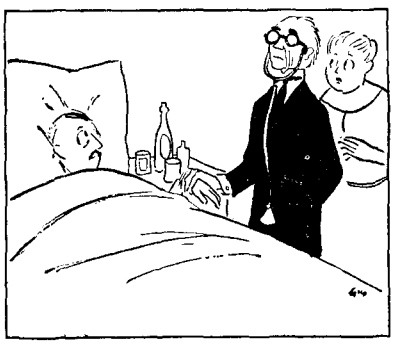
Dissidence 40

sue, the paper does the following things: (a) threatens to appear twice monthly; (b) promises to "lead the French people to the pinnacle of the world"; (c) accuses the US of deliberately wrecking the gold reserves of "economically competing nations"; (d) charges Socialist Minister of the Interior Edouard Depreux with "plunging France into corruption and preparing for civil war"; (e) demands the immediate release of General Henri Guillaudot, charged with complicity in last July's right-wing-extremist-Vichy-tainted plot to overthrow the French government in favor of a military dictatorship; and (f) insinuates that both the Marshall Plan and the US decision to rebuild Germany were brain-children of Germany's recently released economist, Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, who, under Hitler, saved Germany from economic collapse. Comparing Schacht to Talleyrand, *Dissidence 40* sees no harm in a nation utilizing the ingenuity of a former enemy.

With such ambitious beginnings, *Dissidence 40* may be worth reporting on more extensively.



Ce Matin

"Chills and fever. Keep him from reading the newspapers."

It Must Mean Something

REVIEWING the press of our former ally France, we come away from the chore, hands sooty-black with printers' ink. The press of now-friend-now-foe Italy leaves us with hands only slightly gray. But newspapers of our former enemy Germany bring not a smudge—their printers' ink being furnished by occupation forces.

EVA PUTNAM

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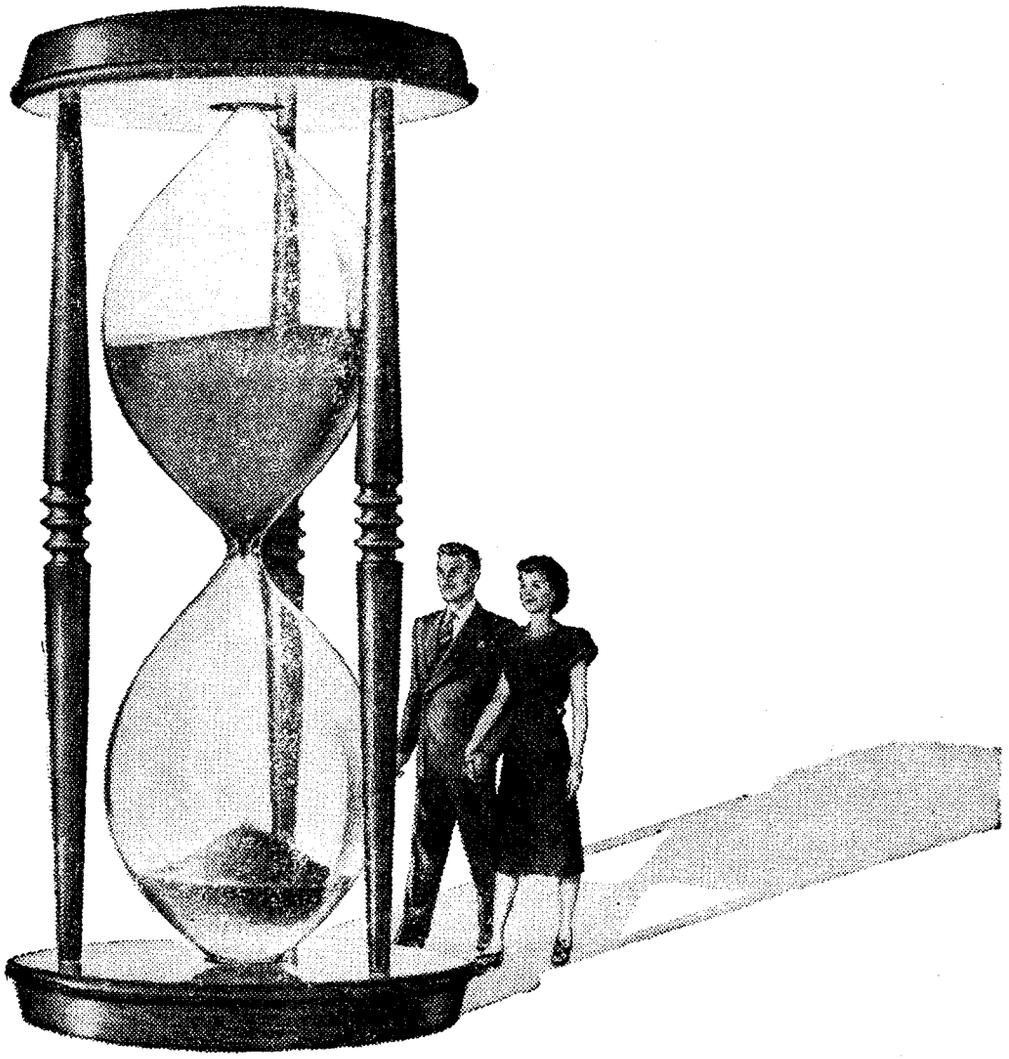

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(as the years always do)

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